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ACTES DU II<sup>E</sup> SYMPOSIUM INTERNATIONAL SUR LA NUBIE (CASAE 24)

SUPPLÉMENT  
AUX  
ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ

CAHIER N° 24

**ACTES DU II<sup>E</sup> SYMPOSIUM INTERNATIONAL  
SUR LA NUBIE  
(FÉVRIER 1-3, 1971)**

ORGANISÉ PAR  
L'INSTITUT D'ÉGYPTÉ

*édité par*  
LABIB HABACHI



LE CAIRE  
IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS  
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE  
MCMLXXXI



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SUR LA NUBIE

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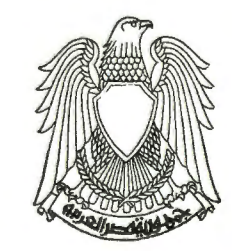
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## EDITORIAL FORWARD

In 1960 Vittorio Veronese, then Director General of the UNESCO, addressed an appeal to members of the scientific organisations to help in saving the great heritage of civilisation, which were to disappear under the stored water behind the High Dam at Aswan. In response of that appeal, more than twenty countries agreed to contribute, and about thirty expeditions worked for several years, not only in excavating sites, but also in recording temples, tombs, stelae and rock-inscriptions and in removing them to safer places. An extensive study was made of the habits and survivals of the inhabitants, so long isolated from their neighbours in Egypt and the Sudan, before they came to mixing with the rest of the population in the two countries (Cf. Walter EMERY, *Egypt in Nubia*, pp. 96-100).

The *Institut d'Égypte*, after five years, decided to extend an invitation to a number of scholars working on salvaging the Nubian monuments to a symposium held in Cairo on March 1-3, 1965. In his inauguration speech, Dr. Moh. Kamel Hussein, then President of the *Institut* said: «L'isolement a marqué l'histoire, l'évolution et les dialectes nubiens, beaucoup de savants se sont attachés à mettre tout cela au jour. Le temps est venu de passer leurs oeuvres en revue, de découvrir et de combler les lacunes avant que l'eau du Nil ne fasse de la Nubie une nouvelle Atlantide et rende impossible cette tâche. Ce symposium convoqué par l'Institut d'Égypte y contribuera et permettra en même temps aux participants de prendre connaissance de plusieurs travaux inédits sur la Nubie».

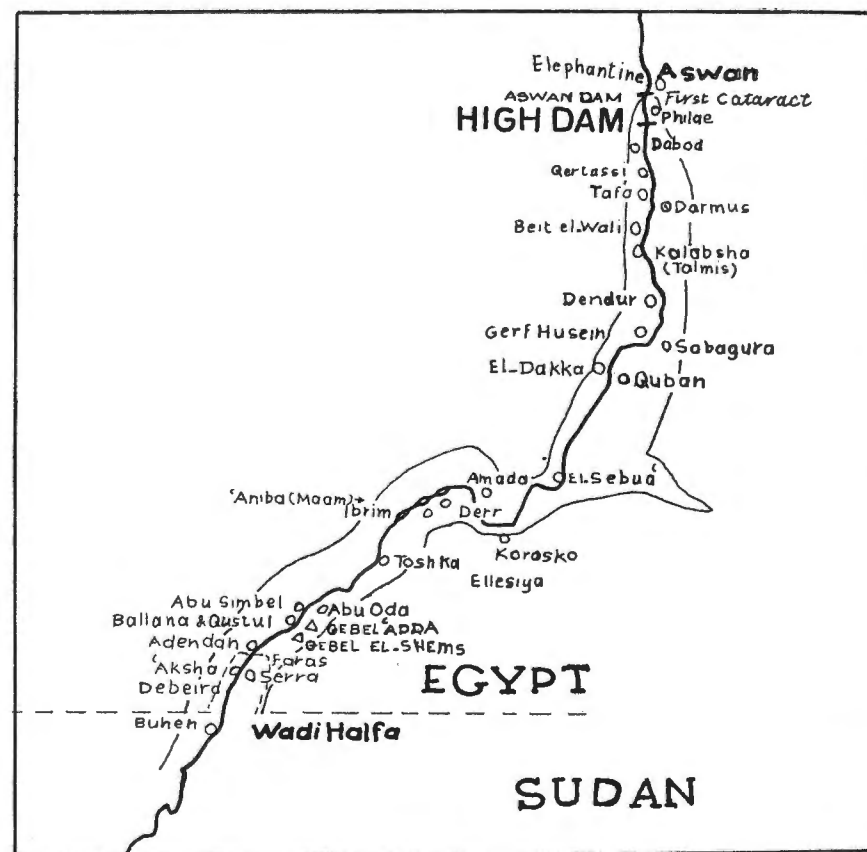
During the three days of the symposium, fifteen papers were read on various features of Nubia, modern and ancient. Most

of these had been published in Mémoire No. LIV of the *Institut* (1969) under the title *Actes du symposium international sur la Nubie*, (Mars 1965); some of the remaining ones had appeared in other publications.

In 1965 the stored waters upstream of the High Dam began to rise, and in 1972 almost all the sites were submerged except for the old town crowning the Kasr Ibrim cliffs which still remained above water allowing excavations to be continued. In 1970 the *Institut d'Égypte* decided, at my suggestion and that of Prof. Fr. Daumas, Vice-President of the *Institut*, to invite heads of expeditions to present papers on the results of their work at a symposium to be held in Cairo on February 1-3, 1971. Dr. Hussein Fawzi, then President of the *Institut*, said in his inaugural speech: «Ce symposium groupait les chefs des missions ayant travaillé en Nubie avant sa submersion sous les flots de Sadd el-Aali, il était destiné à présenter le bilan des résultats acquis par chaque mission et à faire le point des publications déjà effectuées et en préparation».

Eighteen papers were then read (cf. J. LECLANT, «Symposium international sur la Nubie», in *Orientalia*, vol. 40, Rome, 1971, p. 475 f). Of these, fourteen on the various sites are here published, and the rest have already appeared in more, or less, detail in other publications (See in particular *Fouilles en Nubie, 1959-1961 (1963)* and *Fouilles en Nubie 1961-1963 (1967)*, Cairo, where many directors of expeditions published the result of their work). (For the sites, which were examined, see map I).

Three years before this symposium took place, a committee for the study of the art and history of Christian Nubia met in Essen (for the studies made then, see *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in Christlicher Zeit*, herausgegeben von Eric DINKLER, 1970). In 1972 a group of scholars who worked in Nubia met in Warsaw on the occasion of the inauguration of halls to contain the important



Map. I.

finds of the Polish Institute at Faras. Their papers on various subjects concerning Nubia were then read and a society for Nubian studies were for time formed (see *Nubie, récentes recherches, actes du Colloque de Nubiologie internationale au Musée national de Varsovie, 19-22 Juin, Varsovie, 1975*).

It is indeed regrettable that although ten years have elapsed since the symposium was held, and since waters of the High Dam have covered the ancient sites of Nubia, and the work for the expeditions for their salvage was terminated, that no publication

relevant to their undertakings was ever made. The only exceptions are the reports published by the Spanish and Austrian expeditions, and those regularly issued by the Scandinavian and Polish expeditions on the results of their expeditions (see J. LECLANT, «Etat présent des études nubiennes», in *BSFA*, No. 74, 1975).

We deeply regret the passing away of five of the scholars who took part in the Second Symposium of Cairo. We are glad, however, to be publishing part of their contributions here, hoping that their assistants will undertake the publication of their full works in the near future.

It remains for me to thank Dr. Soliman Ah. Huzayyin, President of the *Institut d'Égypte* for his devotion and interest in the activities of this scientific foundation. I have to thank him also for entrusting me with the task of collecting, editing and preparing the papers for the publication of this *Cahier*. To Dr. Gamal Mukhtar and Dr. Ahmed Kadry of the Antiquities Organisation thanks are due for their generous offer to undertake the cost of publication.

Labib HABACHI

## QUSTUL, BALLANA, TAFI, DEBOD, KALABSHA, AMADA AND WADI ES-SEBU'

The Department of Antiquities has participated in salvaging the doomed heritage of mankind in Nubia by excavating some of its important archaeological sites before they are submerged forever by the waters of the High Dam.

From 1958 to 1963, the Department carried out excavations at Qustul, Ballana, Tafa, Debod, Kalabsha, Amada and Es-Sebu'. Work in the first two sites of Qustul and Ballana was supervised by the late Dr. Selim Hassan. The excavations of Qustul were directed by my colleague Zaki Saad and myself with the collaboration of Ah. Es-Sawi and Mohamed Mohsen, but those of Ballana were led by me assisted by Es-Sawi and Kamal Fahmy.

### QUSTUL AND BALLANA

We had the privilege of continuing the successful excavations begun in 1951 by Prof. Emery in the cemeteries of Ballana and Qustul. Our work there revealed 69 tumuli tombs. The tombs were constructed by the Blemmyes who occupied Lower Nubia at the X-group period between the 3rd and 6th centuries A.D. The most common type of graves consists of a pit cut in the hard alluvium to an average depth of two meters with an entrance ramp leading to it. In the pit was built a vaulted chamber of mud brick with a doorway facing the ramp. The entrance was sealed up with mud-brick or stone blocking. All the graves were surmounted by tumuli of earth. The size of the tumuli corresponds to the size of the graves and consequently from 6 to 30 meters in diameter and from one meter to 6 meters in height.

Most of the tombs of Ballana were found intact, although all badly damaged. The roofing of the vaults had completely fallen down and the brickwork welded into one solid mass of mud through the action of water. The damp had worked havoc with the contents of the tombs and nearly all wood, silver, iron, and glass were in the state of decay,

while even the human and animal remains were in a most fragile condition.

The contents of the tombs can be classified as follows :

1) Pottery vases consisting of decorated amphorae, bottles, flasks, flagons, cups and bowls. Pot-marks occurred on the upper parts of some amphorae, usually on the shoulder.

2) Bronze vessels, the most common being cups, bowls, pans, flagons, strainers and dishes, some bear embossed designs of the cross.

3) Bronze and pottery lamps.

4) Jewellery. A considerable collection of jewellery was picked up from the filling of the tombs. The silver wreath and the two bracelets are worthy of attention. To this group belong the silver ear-rings and the necklaces composed of beads, amulets and pendants of silver, carnelian, jasper, milky quartz, shell, glass, and faience.

5) Toilet objects consisting of glass and bronze flasks, silver cups and bronze kohl-pots.

6) Mortars and pestles of porphyry, dolerite and alabaster.

7) Miscellaneous objects, of which the most remarkable are :

- a) Rectangular bronze casket with hinged lid and lock with hasps. Its panels are embossed with winged figures of Horus riding a horse and holding a lance in his hands.
- b) Bronze tripods with open fretwork decoration.
- c) Bronze incense-burner in the form of a quaint human figure sitting on a box-like pedestal.

The tombs of Qustul were found plundered and most of their contents robbed. The ancient plunderers had entered them through a passage cut in the west side of the tumulus or by removing part of the top. Some of the human remains were scattered inside and outside the burial chambers, while others were found along the robbers' passage. They were examined by Dr. Ahmed El-Batrawi. The sacrificed animals, such as dogs, camels, donkeys and cattle were buried in the tumuli

and in the ramp or pits of the tombs. They were examined by Dr. Mohamed El-Hagri.

On the ground surface of some tombs and in between them were encountered about 160 graves of 17 different types, judging by their forms. They date back to the Archaic, New Kingdom, Meroitic and X-group periods. Other similar graves have been discovered later by the Oriental Institute of Chicago University expedition, directed by Dr. Seele and with Dr. Zabkar and Dr. L. Habachi as assistants.

The objects found in both groups of tumuli tombs and graves may be summarized as following :

1) Jewellery. The commonest kinds of jewellery were necklaces composed of beads of glass, semi-precious stones and gold decorated bracelets of silver, iron and bronze, anklets of iron and ear-rings of silver. The silver, iron and bronze finger-rings are very remarkable as they have bezels engraved with designs representing an eagle, a lion, a cross, a crescent, an Egyptian deity and a figure of the archangel Michael with outstretched wings and holding a cross. To this group belong the rings used as finger-rings and at the same time as keys for the jewellery caskets.

2) Weapons. They consist of ivory and wooden hilts of swords, parts of bronze and iron spears, iron daggers and arrow-heads, leather arrow-quivers and a stamped leather armour. The most interesting are perhaps the archers' finger looses in the form of cones. They are made in porphyry, wood and steatite. Over the left hands of some warriors were placed leather archers' bracers.

3) Donkey and camel equipment with the sacrificed animals, such as donkeys and camels, as well as saddle fittings and iron bits were found. Bells, mostly of bronze, were attached to cords fastened round the necks of these animals. The most interesting is the bell decorated with embossed cross-sign on one side and the Egyptian ankh-sign on the other side.

4) Caskets of wood, destroyed by moisture were found. These were decorated with ivory and bone inlays.



5) Metal vessels, such as bronze bowls, were brought to light. Enough to mention the iron frying-pan, which has a folding handle decorated with symmetrical designs.

6) Glass cups and bowls.

7) Toilet utensils including kohl-pots and ointment vases of wood, ivory, ebony and alabaster.

8) Leather work consisting of sandals and bags.

9) Tools as iron adze blades, hoe-blades and ingots.

10) Textiles. Fragments of woolen and linen cloth woven with designs of polychrome tapestry were examined by my colleague Dr. Hishmat Messiha who found that they date back to the third and fourth centuries A.D. Scanty fragments of silk also existed.

11) Offering tables of sandstone bearing representations in relief of libation vases and loaves were also found. They are inscribed with Meroitic inscriptions which were published by my colleague Dr. Mohamed Bakr in *Kush*, vol. XII, 1964.

12) Pottery vases of various types. Some pots contained samples of butter-fat or some kinds of fatty oils. My colleague Dr. Zaki Iskander, who examined these samples, reported that they were used for eating or cooking, as he stated in his paper.

13) Miscellaneous objects, such as lamps of bronze and pottery, iron door-keys, ivory pieces for the gaming board and a group of male and female figurines.

#### Tafa

In the other expeditions of Tafa, Amada, Debod and Kalabsha, I was helped by my assistant Mahmoud Abd El-Razik. Before speaking of my work in Tafa, I would like to mention that its temple of the Roman period was the first to be saved as it stood at a lower level. The dismantling of the temple was done by the architect Ahmed Lutfi. At the same time, recording was carried out by Hassan El-Esheiry, the architect of the Centre of Documentation.

After removing the stones from the temple we made soundings at the four corners and found that the foundations consisted of five or six courses of sandstone masonry. The excavations of the floor in the interior of the temple revealed two parallel walls running N-S. The purpose of these walls was to support the four columns within the building. About two metres and half to the south of the façade of the temples remains of later buildings of rubble including rooms and halls were found. In the course of clearing the debris, a considerable amount of objects of sandstone came to light.

About 200 metres to the west and 250 metres to the north-west of the temple lay the remains of six houses built of large sandstone-blocks similar to those used in the construction of the platform of the temple. Most probably they have been built in the same period as the temple and formed part of a fortified camp where the soldiers guarding the caravan-routes were stationed. In the filling of these houses were lying some cornices among which was a cornice decorated in high relief with the upper part of a figure of a woman holding a sistrum in her left hand and a tambourine in the other, and on her left side the upper part of a human figure holding a lute.

It is worthwhile to mention here that the work of Tafa was recommenced by Dr. Zaba, who succeeded in discovering the remains of the southern temple which was completely buried underground.

#### TEMPLE OF DEBOD

The clearance of the causeway, connecting the quay with the first and second portals of the temple, revealed some stone remains of a later period.

#### KALABSHA

The work in that area was concentrated in the following :

1) Clearance of the temple and its surroundings, the quay and the causeway connecting the quay with the platform in front of the temple.

2) Discovery of a Byzantine tomb built of sandstone, lying to the north-west of the temple.

3) Clearance of the birth-house and the tiny Ptolemaic chapel.

#### AMADA

At Amada we discovered the mud-brick enclosure wall of the temple. Remains of the houses of the priests who performed religious ceremonies were uncovered. These remains were reused in the Coptic period when the temple was converted into a church.

#### WADI ES-SEBU'

At the site of Wadi Es-Sebu', excavations in the temples of Ramesses II and Amenophis III were also made under my supervision and in collaboration of Ahmed Saïd Hindi. In the course of clearing the original floor of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Ramesses II, which was used as a Christian church in the Coptic period, some fragments were found of the inscribed sandstone statues of the viceroy Setau, who was one of the most eminent representatives of Ramesses II in Nubia.

A large vase of pottery with convex lid surmounted by a cross was found in front of the Coptic altar built of mud brick. The vase is decorated with geometric and floral patterns in buff paint.

As for the Speos of Amenophis III, the clearance has proved that it extended to the north and east. On the floor of the main hall were lying two sandstone statues, one representing the lower part of a double statue of Setau and his wife, the other of a cynocephalus ape with its forepaws raised in adoration.

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- 2) Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Ballana (Antiquities Department), extract from *Fouilles en Nubie (1958-1961)*.

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- 1) *Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Department at Qustul*.
- 2) *Brief Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Tafa*.

CURTO, Silvio

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE ANTICITÀ EGIZIE,  
TORINO

## DEHMIT, TALMIS-KALABCHEH, KOROSKO KASR IBRIM ET ELLESİJA

Le programme de sauvetage des antiquités de la Nubie, organisé par la RAU en accord avec l'UNESCO en 1958, fut réalisé, au cours des années suivantes, par une collaboration internationale à laquelle participa aussi la *Soprintendenza alle Antichità Egizie*, organisme de la *Direzione alle Antichità e Belle Arti*, à son tour une branche du *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* de l'Italie.

Plus exactement cette *Soprintendenza* — qui a son siège à Turin auprès du Musée Egyptien — intervint avec trois campagnes archéologiques et une expédition à Ellesija.

Nous décrivons schématiquement ces interventions.

### I

#### CAMPAGNE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DANS LA ZONE DE DEHMIT — 1961.

Organisée par un mécène de Turin, elle fut menée sous la responsabilité scientifique du Dr. Silvio Curto, à cette époque-là Inspecteur de la Soprintendenza, avec la collaboration de l'arch. Celeste Rinaldi, du Dr. Vito Maragioglio et du Dr. Ali el-Kholi, inspecteur du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.

Dehmit est un gros village situé à 28 km au sud d'Assouan, environ sur le 23° parallèle, 37' lat. Nord; la zone assignée s'étendait sur les deux rives du Nil sur environ 20 km de son cours, de Khor Abouskou au Nord à Ouadi Dehmit au sud. Cette zone fut entièrement explorée, systématiquement, en parcourant les deux rives du Nil et l'arrière-pays jusqu'à une distance de 700 m environ du fleuve. Cette exploration fut achevée en 1962.

Décrivons brièvement les résultats.

A) sur la rive orientale, en allant du nord au sud :

1) au sud de Khor Kharm Dol s'avancent sur le Nil trois promontoires caractéristiques. Dans l'espace compris entre le second et le troisième, situé près du village de Nag Max, on a trouvé un édifice à hémispéos, composé d'une terrasse soutenue par une maçonnerie en pierre du type égyptien ancien, par laquelle on entrait dans une salle rectangulaire, taillée dans le rocher dans la partie inférieure et formée, dans la partie supérieure, par une maçonnerie encore en pierre mais de type plus récent, sans couverture; par cette salle on entrait dans une seconde pièce ayant, sur la partie latérale, une abside taillée dans le rocher. Les pièces archéologiques, un élément architectural en pierre réemployé, avec les restes d'une figure et une inscription où sont nommées les déesses Satis et Anoukis, du Nouvel Empire, d'autres fragments semblables, et fragments de céramique pouvant dater du Moyen Empire à l'Époque Copte, confirmèrent la présence d'un édifice ancien transformé à une époque plus tardive.

2) Plus loin, sur le troisième promontoire, on trouva une sépulture taillée en caverne d'une façon grossière, à moitié détruite; elle gardait des fragments de céramique pouvant dater du Moyen Empire à une époque récente.

Près de cette sépulture il y avait deux abris sous le rocher avec des gravures rupestres préhistoriques : des figures de gazelles, de bovins, de barques, d'autruches et de femmes.

3) Près du Khor el-Bouga, ou Bogga, furent retrouvées les six tombes des XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> dyn. déjà signalées, avec description particulière d'une de Nakht-Min, par G. Röder (*Les temples immergés de la Nubie — Debod bis Bab Kalabshe*, Le Caire 1911, I, p. 111 suiv.), par A. Fakhry (dans *ASAE* 35 (1935) p. 52 suiv.), et par A. Hermann (dans *MDIK* 6 (1953), p. 1 suiv.). Malheureusement elles apparurent presque complètement détruites par les eaux de la crue du Nil après 1914.

4) A l'embouchure de Khor Dehmit on trouva une tombe rupestre formée d'un couloir ouvert sur plusieurs chambres et inachevée.

B) Sur la rive occidentale :

5) A mi-chemin entre Abouskou, ou Abisko, et le Khor Dabrouk, on retrouva, près de l'eau, l'inscription déjà publiée par A. Weigall (*Report on the antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Oxford 1907, Pl. XIX, b) et traduite par G. Röder (*op. cit.*, p. 105).

6) Près de la tête de Khor Dabrouk, gravures rupestres préhistoriques.

7) Immédiatement au sud de Khor el-Bouq'a el-Qibli, on explora une grande tombe rupestre de la fin du M.E. — XVIII<sup>e</sup> dyn. avec une inscription sur la façade au nom du scribe Hor-nekhti, où l'on mentionne Khnoum, Satis et Anoukis, malheureusement entièrement abîmée à l'intérieur par les éboulements de la roche.

8) A quelques mètres de là, une autre tombe semblable. Sur sa façade il y avait des gravures rupestres avec des figures d'animaux.

9) A l'intérieur du Khor Fahmi, dans un espace compris entre 200 et 600 m. de distance du Nil, une trentaine de gravures rupestres préhistoriques avec des figures soit isolées, soit en groupes, presque toutes d'animaux, mais deux avec des hommes et des chiens à la chasse aux autruches.

10) A l'embouchure d'un petit khor au nord du khor Fakhari el-Bahari, une ancienne carrière, avec un sarcophage en pierre non fini, de type ptolémaïque-romain. Un peu plus loin une gravure rupestre avec barque et animaux.

On ne trouva plus aucune trace des cimetières déjà explorés dans la zone, sur les rives basses, par G.A. Reisner (*Arch. Survey of Nubia — Report for 1907-1908*, Cairo 1910) évidemment détruits par les crues après 1911.

On ne trouva pas d'autres cimetières sur les rives hautes.

## II

### CAMPAGNE D'EXPLORATION DE LA ZONE DE DEHMIT ET DE LA VILLE DE TALMIS-KALABCHEH, 1962.

Organisée par la Commune de Turin, elle fut menée sous la même responsabilité que la précédente et avec la collaboration de l'arch. C. Rinaldi, du Dr. Maragioglio, de la Dr. Maria Luisa Bongrani du Centre pour les Antiquités et l'Histoire de l'Art du Proche Orient à Rome, le Dr. Ali el-Kholi, qui donna un très précieux apport au travail de l'expédition :

A) On acheva l'exploration de la zone de Dehmit dans la partie méridionale. Rien ne fut retrouvé sur la rive orientale. Sur la rive occidentale on rencontra deux inscriptions grecques de l'époque de Trajan (une déjà publiée par G. RÖDER, *op. cit.*, Taf. 45 a), en outre fut fait le relevé d'une forteresse située sur une hauteur donnant sur le fleuve et construite en brique crue, de l'époque romaine tardive.

Les résultats de cette exploration, ajoutés à ceux de toutes les explorations précédentes dans la zone, conduisent aux conclusions suivantes. La zone de Dehmit a été habitée, dans la préhistoire, par des populations relativement nombreuses qui, le long des khor, faisaient la chasse à la faune alors riche de l'arrière-pays. Plus tard, peut-être depuis le Moyen Empire déjà, et certainement dans le Nouvel Empire, cette zone avait accueilli des monuments égyptiens nombreux et répartis uniformément sur toute son étendue, au point d'apparaître comme un appendice de l'Égypte, et différente du restant de la Nubie où l'on voit ces monuments rassemblés sur des surfaces restreintes et dispersées.

Égypte et Nubie, comme unités géographiques, étaient donc séparées par le parallèle de Shellal et, comme unités politiques, probablement divisées dans le Nouvel Empire par la même frontière, avec une coupure nette. Comme unités culturelles, au contraire, elles étaient liées par un faisceau de segments dans lequel la première unité cédait par degrés à la seconde. C'est-à-dire qu'en fait les zones d'Eléphantine et de Sehel formaient un territoire encore égyptien mais distinct, à cause de caractères

propres, du restant de l'Égypte. Ces zones, avec celle de Dehmit, composaient un territoire plus vaste mais en partie veiné de caractères nubiens ; celui-ci, à son tour, et les zones méridionales de Kalabcheh, Gerf Husein et Dakkeh, où prédominait désormais l'élément nubien, formaient ce territoire encore plus vaste que les deux inscriptions connues de Sehel et d'Eléphantine le désignent par antonomase, sekhet, et les documents plus tard Dodekaschoinos. Dans celui-ci la composante égyptienne avait son courant principal dans le culte de Khnoum, Satis et Anoukis, ancré à Eléphantine et Sehel et étendu vers le sud.

B) On a exploré, sur la rive occidentale, la ville de Kalabcheh, avec une rigoureuse délimitation, car la zone du temple d'Auguste (que nous avons trouvé déjà démonté et emporté) était réservée au Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut — Abteilung Kairo, et la zone environnant la ville était également réservée à une autre expédition, non italienne.

La ville s'étendait sur la pente du haut plateau libyen ayant la forme d'une colline parallèle au fleuve, de la crête jusqu'à la rive où s'élevait le Temple. Elle était entourée d'un rectangle de remparts dont il subsistait la partie occidentale allongée sur la crête de la colline sur 150 m, soit environ les 2/3 de la longueur initiale, et un tronçon de 33 m du côté septentrional, qui par le passé descendait jusqu'à se rattacher au solide mur d'enceinte du Temple.

Les remparts étaient espacés par des bastions et avaient de solides tours angulaires. Au centre du côté occidental il y avait une tour qui était traversée, à sa base, par une porte de la ville faite en chicane. On a trouvé cette porte remplie de décombres et fermée depuis une époque ancienne.

Le mur d'enceinte était construit en maçonnerie de petites pierres brutes liées avec de la boue, très mauvais dans les courtines, un peu meilleur dans les tours et dans les bastions ; ça et là on remarquait des matériaux réemployés, des éléments architectoniques en pierre travaillée et même des tables d'offrande de type méroïtique. Il est probable qu'au-dessus de la structure en pierre, d'une hauteur moyenne de 3 m 50, s'en élevait une deuxième en brique crue, jusqu'à 7 m de hauteur.

L'agglomération ancienne s'étendait dans la zone entre les murs avec une large extension en dehors des murs du côté nord. Elle était marquée seulement par un énorme champ de décombres de pierre qui paraissaient être le résidu d'anciennes maisons. Sous les décombres, le flanc de la colline apparaissait taillé en terrasses disposées irrégulièrement à différents niveaux ; trois de ces terrasses, les plus voyantes, situées à l'intérieur des murs, furent débarrassées de leurs décombres et apparurent clairement comme des plates-formes pour maisons, qui avaient les parties postérieures et les côtés formés de la roche même, le reste construit en maçonnerie. Dans la ramification extra-muros on remarqua deux fosses rectangulaires, taillées elles aussi dans la roche, probablement des silos.

A cause de la délimitation imposée à nos recherches, ce n'est que sommairement que nous avons pu, en outre, noter une carrière de pierres située au S.O. du Temple : elle avait été, probablement, ouverte pour fournir les matériaux nécessaires à la construction même, de toute façon à une époque païenne tardive, comme l'indiquent de grandes figures de Bes gravées sur les parois ; plus tard elle devint un lieu mémorial et sur ces mêmes parois furent gravées des épigraphes funéraires chrétiennes.

Arrivés là, après avoir terminé l'exploration, les données qu'elle avait fournies furent réunies à toutes les autres déjà connues relatives à Kalabcheh dans une étude qui aboutit aux conclusions suivantes. Une statue de Thoutmosis III conservée dans le Musée Archéologique de Florence, dont on ignorait la provenance, avait été décrite dans des manuscrits de voyageurs qui l'avaient vue dans le Temple.

La ville était peut-être déjà née au Moyen Empire comme lieu d'étape pour les navires en transit de l'Égypte vers la Nubie et comme escale pour les échanges qui s'avançaient dans le désert libyen jusqu'aux petites oasis méridionales sahariennes ; il est possible qu'Aménophis II ait construit une chapelle sur le lieu. Plus tard, dans les environs, à Beit el-Ouali, Ramsès II édifia un temple. Ensuite, dans la Nubie septentrionale, surgirent d'autres centres et à la voie d'eau furent ajoutées des routes littorales pour de nouveaux commerces locaux. A l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine Kalabcheh devint une vraie ville

et prit le nom de Talmis : au I<sup>er</sup> siècle on y construisit un camp militaire romain fixe et sur le temple de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie le grand sanctuaire d'Auguste. La majesté de ce dernier est l'indice de la très grande importance du centre et les très nombreux éléments architectoniques en pierre, retrouvés sur place, apparaissent comme des vestiges d'édifices de grande valeur. Les routes pharaoniques furent alors perfectionnées en routes romaines militaires qui s'étendaient le long de tout le Dodekaschoinos. Les relations généralement pacifiques qui existaient entre l'Égypte et les royaumes de Napata et de Méroé favorisèrent certainement des échanges plus intenses le long du Nil ; les trafics avec les petites oasis sahariennes augmentèrent aussi. Dans ces oasis, en effet, avaient émigré des populations berbères qui furent romanisées très vite et qui donnèrent de l'essor à l'agriculture et à la culture de l'olivier : les olives étaient transportées à Talmis et elles y étaient pressées comme l'indiquent deux énormes moulins à huile en pierre retrouvés sur les lieux ; enfin l'huile était transvasée dans des amphores, dont on trouva des amas considérables, et expédiée en Égypte.

Cette richesse diminua vers la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle quand les barbares Blemmyes occupèrent la Nubie et que Dioclétien recula la frontière à Philae ; toutefois ils choisirent Kalabcheh comme centre d'une de leurs principautés. Une autre crise fut provoquée au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle par la lutte entre Blemmyes et Nobades qui se termina par la victoire des derniers et l'évangélisation, par la suite, de la Nubie.

Dans cette phase, après la rupture du système défensif romain, en Nubie comme dans l'Europe du Moyen Age, chaque ville dut pourvoir elle-même à sa défense ; à Kalabcheh, aussi, les quartiers sur le fleuve furent alors abandonnés et reconstruits plus haut et enfermés dans une enceinte. Probablement des travaux de défense de ce genre furent déjà édifiés par les Blemmyes : de toutes façons ils furent détruits entièrement car on n'en trouva aucune trace dans l'enceinte que nous avons décrite, datant certainement de l'époque chrétienne, vu que dans la maçonnerie on trouva réemployées comme pierres de construction des tables d'offrande du style méroïtique communes aux Blemmyes.

De même c'est peut-être déjà aux Blemmyes, et certainement aux Nobades, que l'on doit le plan de la ville rectangulaire, défendue sur

trois côtés et ouverte sur le Nil, avec une route qui suit l'axe E-O pour relier le fleuve à la porte qui menait à l'arrière-pays et aux pistes des caravanes sahariennes. C'est un plan semblable à d'autres villes contemporaines, Tafa, Ichmindi, Sabagoura et Shekh Daoud. Le VII<sup>e</sup> et le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles furent pacifiques : l'habitat fut étendu en dehors des murs vers le nord et trois églises furent construites, l'une intra-muros, située dans le Temple d'Auguste, et deux extra-muros, l'une au sud, entièrement neuve, et l'autre au nord, située à l'intérieur du Temple de Beit el-Ouali.

Au IX<sup>e</sup> et au X<sup>e</sup> siècles la conquête arabe amena la décadence définitive : les échanges avec l'intérieur ayant cessé, comme l'indique l'aveuglement de la porte occidentale, Kalabcheh fut abandonnée, et remplacée par des villages arabes dispersés. La construction de la première digue d'Assouan causa des crues du Nil plus hautes qui recouvrirent de boue les vestiges de la ville gréco-romaine sur la rive : il en resta seulement ces pierres réemployées dans la ville médiévale.

### III

#### CAMPAGNE D'EXPLORATION DE LA ZONE KOROSKO-KASR IBBIM SUR LA RIVE DROITE DU NIL, 1964.

Organisée par le mécène de Turin, Battista Pininfarina, elle fut menée sous la même responsabilité que les précédentes et avec la collaboration de l'arch. C. Rinaldi, du Dr. V. Maragioglio, de la Dr. Carla Burri du Centre pour les Antiquités, déjà nommé, et du Dr. Abdou Ali Ramadan, Inspecteur du Service.

Malheureusement le Nil, en 1964, ne passa pas en étiage et empêcha l'exploration des rives basses.

Au cours de l'exploration on découvrit les vestiges archéologiques suivants :

- a) Un peu au-delà du khor de Korosko, à l'embouchure d'un autre petit khor, deux tombes romaines en forme de fosse à moitié détruites.

- b) De Korosko à ed-Derr, sur la rive, de nombreuses gravures rupestres, quelques-unes préhistoriques, d'autres plus récentes.
- c) Derrière le temple de ed-Derr, un petit speos, peut-être de la fin du Nouvel Empire, réemployé comme lieu de culte par les Arabes (déjà signalé dans BÄDEKER, *Aegypten*, 1928, p. 417 et dans *Guide Bleu, Egypte*, 1956, p. 488).
- d) A l'est du Temple, cinq fosses sépulcrales coptes, déjà signalées par U. Monneret de Villard (*La Nubia Medievale*, I, Le Caire 1935, p. 100).
- e) Un peu plus loin, sur le même plateau, les restes d'un édifice avec six chambres, presque certainement un entrepôt du Temple.
- f) Dans le parcours de Derr à Ellesija, sur la rive, d'autres gravures rupestres préhistoriques ayant une valeur esthétique considérable, et en outre des rangées de trous destinés à l'appui de poutres d'édifices accolés à la montagne, certainement tardifs.
- g) A mi-chemin entre Derr et Ellesija, un peu avant Nag Torkyab, les restes d'une vaste, ancienne enceinte en maçonnerie en grands blocs de pierre, peut-être jamais habitée et qu'on ne peut dater à cause du manque absolu d'édifices ou même de décombres d'édifices, de gravures ou d'éléments décoratifs architectoniques ou, du moins, de produits manufacturés en terre cuite.
- h) Plus au-delà, vers Ellesija, des marches taillées dans la roche en descente vers le fleuve ; à mi-côte une grande tombe romaine ; sur la terrasse du haut plateau, quelques tombes romaines en forme de fosse, toutes pillées et les traces, sur le sol, d'une église.

En conclusion, ce qui parut remarquable dans la région c'est le nombre de gravures rupestres, beaucoup de l'époque préhistorique, d'autres d'une époque récente, quelques-unes sans doute modernes ; si nous tenons compte du fait que la gravure rupestre est, avant tout, une expression graphique d'hommes qui n'utilisent pas l'écriture proprement dite, nous devrions attribuer les récentes gravures, dont on a fait mention, aux Blemmyes et aux Nobades. De plus, tandis que dans la région de Dehmit ces gravures se trouvaient à l'embouchure des khor

et en bas, ici entre Korosko et Kasr Ibrim en général, elles étaient sur les rochers qui côtoyaient le fleuve et en haut.

Enfin, les vestiges archéologiques trouvés près de Ellesija, indiquèrent que l'endroit avait été plus fréquenté dans le passé qu'à l'époque arabe.

#### IV

##### EXPÉDITION À ELLESIJA

En Octobre 1962, les autorités de la RAU et de l'UNESCO exposèrent à la Mission de Turin en Nubie l'opportunité pour l'Italie de pourvoir au sauvetage d'Ellesija. La proposition fut accueillie et la Soprintendenza alle Antichità Egizie, en tant qu'organisme scientifique et administratif du gouvernement italien et compétent à ce sujet, demandait, en Mars 1963, au gouvernement de la RAU d'être chargée du sauvetage : en Décembre elle recevait une réponse favorable.

L'année 1964 fut entièrement occupée par la recherche, en Italie, des moyens financiers nécessaires et par la préparation du projet technique.

A la fin, les premiers furent fournis par la ville et par la province de Turin et le projet fut défini comme suit : le temple était constitué par une grande façade encaissée dans la roche, où étaient gravées des inscriptions, et par un spéos aux parois ornées de reliefs : on taillerait en blocs les uns et les autres et on les transporterait à Assouan aux frais de l'Italie et sous la responsabilité scientifique du Soprintendente all'Egittologia, le Dr. S. Curto : le travail serait effectué par des techniciens du Service des Antiquités.

Mais, entre-temps, de très graves difficultés avaient surgi quant à la possibilité d'effectuer le travail.

En effet le Temple était entièrement recouvert, chaque année, par le Nil en crue. De toute façon il n'était pas accessible par derrière parce qu'il se trouvait au milieu d'un espace escarpé ayant une longueur de plusieurs kilomètres le long de la pente du haut plateau libyen ; on ne pouvait donc atteindre le monument que par le Nil au moment de

l'étiage, mais, devant lui, se trouvait une plaine formée de boue déposée par les crues, de quelques mètres au-dessus du niveau du fleuve, profonde et étendue en amont et en aval sur environ 2 kms. Cette plaine, avec la baisse des eaux, devenait un marais infranchissable et il fallait attendre l'étiage total et, après celui-ci, au moins quinze jours avant que le sol ne sèche et ne devienne parcourable.

D'autre part le Nil, au cours de l'été de 1964, n'avait pas baissé ; pour 1965 le Service Hydrographique du fleuve prévoyait seulement un étiage bref et partiel. D'autre part cet étiage serait le dernier dans l'histoire du Nil nubien car, en automne de la même année, le Sadd el-Aali serait fermé et les eaux de son bassin seraient montées définitivement et auraient recouvert la Nubie et Ellesija.

Les choses étant ainsi, le Service prépara cependant en Juin, à Assouan, une flottille avec tous les hommes et tous les moyens nécessaires au travail. Début Juillet on annonça le début de l'étiage : le Soprintendente alle Antichità Egizie, S. Curto, rejoignit alors la flottille et celle-ci se dirigea vers Ellesija et accosta sur la rive opposée au Temple. Au delà du courant on voyait le monument émerger heure par heure ; dès que cela fut possible on s'y rendit en barque pour préparer le découpage. Le 17 la plaine en face n'apparut plus couverte que par un voile d'eau qui, d'ici peu, ne serait plus navigable. D'autre part la plaine même ne deviendrait jamais parcourable. Le directeur égyptien des travaux ing. Ahmed Lotfi imagina alors un expédient tout à fait génial : il poussa jusqu'au Temple un grand ponton, l'accola à la façade à droite de l'entrée et chargea des hommes et les moyens nécessaires à l'ouvrage : deux jours après le ponton appuyait sur le fond et restait isolé du monde. De là, en vingt jours de travail frénétique, les héroïques ouvriers égyptiens détachèrent en blocs la façade entière de 20 m de large et de 5 m de haut, ils creusèrent dans la montagne un couloir qui contournaient le spéos et, ensuite, taillèrent entièrement les parois, effectuant un travail parfait et très difficile car les reliefs de l'intérieur s'étendaient sur une bande continue et il fallait faire passer les coupes verticales dans les espaces de quelques centimètres entre une figure et une autre figure. La seule circonstance favorable fut la roche, un grès assez tendre pour pouvoir être taillé avec des scies à main qu'on avait pu transporter

facilement et qui n'emportaient pas plus de 3 à 4 mm de surface dans les reliefs.

Le travail était à peine fini quand le Nil recommença à monter. Le ponton flotta de nouveau et fut acheminé à es-Seboua, puis à Assouan, chargé des 66 blocs composant le temple, en moyenne de 1 m 3 et pesant 1 tonne chacun, quelques-uns, cependant, ayant une dimension double.

En Mars 1966, le gouvernement de la RAU, en accord avec l'UNESCO, accomplit un geste de très grande générosité et d'une splendide signification : il fit don du temple d'Ellesija à l'Italie en signe de reconnaissance pour la contribution financière qu'elle avait donnée pour le sauvetage de Abou Simbel et pour la collaboration qu'elle avait prêtée à l'exploration de la Nubie par trois expéditions archéologiques de Turin et six de l'Université de Milan et par les interventions personnelles de savants individuellement.

A ce moment-là, grâce au découpage des blocs et à leur transport jusqu'à Assouan, travail effectué de manière parfaite par les techniciens égyptiens, on put prévoir la reconstruction intégrale du Temple qui était un document historique inestimable à cause des caractéristiques que nous vous décrivons sommairement :

A) Le Temple avait été consacré par Thoutmosis III vers 1450, en même temps qu'un autre semblable à Gebel Décha, dans la Nubie méridionale, et d'autres encore mais dispersés ça et là dans la région : c'était cependant le seul encore conservé pouvant documenter l'activité du Roi en Nubie.

B) La reine Hatshepsut avait déjà taillé des sanctuaires rupestres à Beni Hasan, Der el-Bahari et Faras mais en imitant les sépultures rupestres déjà en usage en Egypte depuis des milliers d'années : Ellesija, au contraire, répétait nettement dans le speos l'ancien schéma du temple égyptien de type longitudinal, même si limité au vestibule et à la cella.

C) Ellesija et Gebel Décha étaient les plus anciens véritables temples rupestres de la Nubie et ils avaient servi de modèle pour les nombreux autres taillés ensuite dans la région, jusqu'aux derniers d'Abou Simbel.

D) Le Temple n'encomrait pas l'étroite rive du Nil nubien ; en outre il avait en face de lui une grande façade nivelée dans la pente du haut plateau et se reflétant dans le fleuve.

Le choix du modèle rupestre et son achèvement avec cette façade obéissaient donc à un critère rigoureux d'intégration dans le paysage nubien.

E) Le vestibule et la cella avaient les plafonds taillés en voûte en berceau, chose rare dans les édifices en pierre et dans les speos égyptiens, habituellement avec des plafonds plats. La cella avait le pavement en légère remontée vers le fond, où se trouvaient les images des divinités titulaires du sanctuaire, ce qui était pratiqué seulement dans les chapelles de quelques tombes de l'époque thoutmoside, tandis que les pavements se faisaient généralement tous plats. Enfin la cella était rattachée directement au vestibule en croix, tandis que, dans presque toute l'architecture égyptienne, le passage entre les pièces est souligné par une entrée avec huisseries et architraves. En conclusion, Ellesija fut projetée de dimensions assez petites (6 m 50 de profondeur totale, 5 m 50 de largeur, 2 m 70 de hauteur maximum) mais admirable aussi à l'intérieur à cause de l'ampleur de l'espace visuel et du jeu des perspectives.

F) Dans la façade, Thoutmosis III grava deux grandes stèles qui apparaissent aujourd'hui comme des documents rares. Sur l'une il était représenté avec Horus de Maïam et Satis ; suivait une inscription datée pour commémorer la fondation du Temple. Dans l'autre stèle on documentait la donation royale d'un fonds afin de pourvoir au culte dans le sanctuaire. A l'intérieur, au fond de la cella, se trouvaient les statues réservées dans la roche même de Thoutmosis III entre Horus de Maïam et Satis. Sur les parois, de l'entrée aux statues, s'étendaient deux bandes de reliefs d'une longueur totale d'environ 22 m avec 28 scènes où était représenté le roi en train d'honorer des divinités ou d'être honoré par elles. Les personnes divines, quelques-unes répétées, sont au nombre de dix-neuf, quelques-unes exclusivement égyptiennes, d'autres égyptiennes devenues nubiennes, d'autres seulement nubiennes : l'ensemble documente que Thoutmosis, de même



qu'il avait créé un modèle de temple particulièrement adapté à la Nubie, ainsi il avait repris une théologie déjà naissante en Nubie dès le Moyen Empire et l'avait canonisée, parce qu'elle était adaptée à l'esprit des habitants. En d'autres termes, pour égyptianiser la Nubie, le roi y avait importé les deux expressions les plus hautes de la civilisation égyptienne, l'art et la religion.

L'histoire successive de la Nubie démontre que cette politique eut un plein succès. Cependant, les deux idées les plus brillantes de Thoutmosis III ne furent pas comprises : les structures que nous avons décrites au point (E) ne furent pas répétées et l'on revint aux structures traditionnelles ; puis, Aménophis IV ayant effacé les images d'Amon dans le spéos, Ramsès II les rendit mais transforma les images sur le fond en celles de lui-même, d'Amon-Ra et de Horus de Miam, et grava sur la façade une stèle avec les mêmes figures, changeant ainsi la dédicace et dégradant Horus comme second titulaire du temple, en harmonie avec sa politique de nationalisme religieux étroit.

Enfin, au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le temple fut transformé en église.

Les valeurs que nous avons décrites furent importantes pour la reconstruction. Considérant ce que nous avons décrit en (D) nous avons pensé d'abord reconstruire le temple près d'Assouan dans un paysage au moins conforme à celui d'origine. Puis nous avons pensé que le monument, à cause de ses petites dimensions, serait négligé en faveur des autres monuments bien plus grands reconstruits sur place et que peu de gens tiendraient compte du patrimoine d'histoire qui y était documenté et qu'on n'aurait pas recueilli le message de culture et de pacification que le fondateur lui avait confié. Il valait mieux transporter le Temple dans le Musée Egyptien de Turin, fréquenté par une foule de visiteurs, trois cents par jour en moyenne. Ici il apparaîtrait comme un joyau enchâssé parmi tant d'autres monuments contemporains pour les illuminer et être illuminé, entre autres deux admirables statues de Thoutmosis III et de Ramsès II.

Et puis, après que les blocs furent arrivés à Turin, nous avons considéré la finesse des reliefs et nous avons projeté d'abord de remonter seulement les blocs d'origine, sans rien ajouter de moderne et d'apocryphe. De cette façon, toutefois, seuls quelques savants auraient

su observer les profils des parois mêmes et ensuite reconstruire mentalement la forme originelle du speos. Le grand public en aurait perdu l'illusion d'espace. Il sembla donc justifié de reconstruire entièrement le pavement et les plafonds aussi qui, de toute façon, déjà sur les lieux étaient apparus entièrement abîmés. Ces éléments furent, toutefois, imités avec des structures détachées des parois avec un sillon continu, de façon que leur modernité apparaisse clairement.

En outre, on a imité de la même façon la surface de la façade.

Le Ministre de la Culture de la RAU, en inaugurant le Temple le 4 Septembre 1970 approuva, avec enthousiasme, notre œuvre et cette approbation, à laquelle s'unirent toutes les personnes présentes, experts et profanes, couronna de certitude finale les solutions adoptées.

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SEELE, Keith      ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO UNIVERSITY  
NUBIAN EXPEDITION

(Prepared in condensed form and presented by DEVRIES, Carl)

### BALLANA, QUSTUL AND QASR EL-WIZZ

The Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition was largely the product of the interest, foresight, and enthusiasm of Professor Keith C. Seele, who was appointed its director and served with distinction in that capacity. It is regrettable that Dr. Seele is not present himself to share with you some of the results of the work of that expedition, but I am happy to represent him and the Oriental Institute and to present to you a condensed version of his stimulating report.

The final publication of the results of the excavations conducted by the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition in the seasons 1962-1963 and 1963-1964 is under preparation and is expected to require several volumes of text and plates. The «brief summary» and «highlights» which Dr. Seele prepared for this present report consists of some 57 pages of typescript; to me has fallen the responsibility of reducing that material to the time limits of the format of this Symposium.

The concession granted to the Oriental Institute by the Department of Antiquities comprised the area on both sides of the Nile, beginning at the Abu Simbel temples on the north and ending at the boundary of the Republic of the Sudan on the south. This section of the river valley had been requested by Dr. Seele after a personal exploration of the entire reach of Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts. It included the area of Ballana and Qustul, which was already well known from the excavations of Walter B. Emery and the later work of Shafiq Farid. Since these excavators had concentrated on the large mounds, it was felt that there must still be many other ancient remains in the vicinity. This was indicated by Emery's report of the existence of cemeteries which he considered so thoroughly plundered as to be undeserving of further investigation, for example, Cemetery 221, south of Ballana. Concerning specific sites for excavation in this area, Dr. Seele comments: «Finally, the 'List of Sites with Recommendations'

provided in 1961 by the Egypt Exploration Society was scarcely to be taken seriously, as was amply demonstrated by the Oriental Institute expedition, which worked almost exclusively at sites labeled 'Further excavation is not recommended' in the list».

In January, 1963, the expedition fleet was moored at the east bank of the Nile at Qustul, near the royal cemetery (No. 220), scene of the archæological successes of Emery and Kirwan and known as Cemetery Q (for Qustul) in the terminology adopted by the Oriental Institute expedition (see figure at the end of this study). Within a few days, encouraging results were appearing in the area between Emery's Tumulus 42 and Tumulus 3, with the discovery of a number of graves of X-group date, contemporary with the royal tumuli to the north of them. Though plundered in ancient times, these burials yielded objects of interest and scientific value, including much pottery, mostly unbroken. Also in the area were found two large rectangular pits filled with two distinct layers of disarticulated animal bones — horse, donkey and camel.

Working its way northward, to the north of Emery's Tumulus 31 the expedition found a series of mudbrick structures, which were designated as Area B. There were 56 structures, situated in a broken line, running east and west; these were rectangular structures, one to four bricks in height, placed side by side and sometimes with a single wall between two of them, each with an entrance to the south, some with stone door-pivots. It was possible to date these stratigraphically to a time later than the making of Tumuli 31 and 44. Fourteen of the structures towards the west end of the row were accompanied by mudbrick podia about 40 cm. square, plastered with mud and in some cases bearing stone offering tables of X-group type, with spouts to the north, facing the entrances. Enclosures resembling these were also found in the areas labeled C and F.

Areas B, C, and F share these features: similar relationship to a tumulus to the south, structures with doorways facing the tumulus, and X-group date proved by offering tables and pottery. Digging in corresponding locations with relationship to the great tumuli in the south half of Cemetery 220 failed to discover counterparts of Areas B, C and F. The reasons for this absence are uncertain, but it is

suggested that the structures that were found served the mortuary cult of persons who had been buried elsewhere in the necropolis and who sought to maintain the secrecy of the location of the actual burials.

Scattered X-group graves near Tumulus 3 varied widely in type, though most of them were rectangular shafts with full-length side niches. There was no consistent orientation of the graves nor position of the body of the deceased. Grave goods were placed with the burial and most of the graves were plundered in antiquity, apparently by persons acquainted with the value of the contents of the grave, for the burials of poor persons were usually intact.

Several small cemeteries of Christian date found within the larger Cemetery 220 indicate that the Christian population of ancient Qustul was quite small.

Area D, in the northern part of Cemetery 220, was Meroitic and was characterized by mudbrick superstructures, apparently originally in the form of tall, slender, pyramids.

Nearly 700 graves were excavated in Cemetery 220. X-group objects found included pottery, much leather work, bows and arrows, horse trappings, toilet objects, iron tools, jewelry (even a fine collection of New Kingdom scarabs), and various textiles, among them unusual examples of «Oriental rugs» with standard pile. Two animal pits to the west of Tumulus 36 were of special interest, one containing camel skeletons, the other, skeletons of horses.

Dr. Seele also lists a great variety of Meroitic pottery and describes the contents of the intact tomb Q-475.

While the work at Cemetery Q was in progress, other excavation was begun to the south, in an area called Cemetery R. In February of 1963, while approaching Cemetery R, the expedition jeep caved in a grave and confirmed the discovery of a New Kingdom cemetery, of which one grave had previously been found. The finding of many New Kingdom burials here, in Cemetery S. and particularly in Cemetery V, indicated that ancient Qustul was an important Nubian center of the Egyptian empire.

Cemetery R had more than 100 burials of New Kingdom and X-group date, varying widely in type for both periods. Several imposing intact

New Kingdom tombs were discovered, some with shaft and two burial chambers and one with shaft and single burial chamber. Some fine pottery was found, along with other objects of interest, including several scarabs which assisted in the dating of the tombs. One bore the prenomen of Thutmose III, another was inscribed with the *nsw-bit* name of the 17th Dynasty king Inyotef VII, while others were of Hyksos type. The occupants of these tombs were mostly of mixed race, Caucasoid and Negroid.

The great New Kingdom cemetery in this area was that labeled V, for it stretched for nearly two kilometers in length. Because it was not possible to excavate within the houses of the Nubians, the cemetery had to be examined in the form of separated plots, which were identified by letters VA, VB, etc.

Cemetery VC provided the most spectacular results, for here lay the most important of the New Kingdom tombs, from which were obtained hundreds of objects, some of extraordinary beauty, others of historical importance. The shaft of V-46 contained 11 levels of burials, with a total of 27 bodies. The burial chamber also had two separate strata of burials; from the stratigraphy and from the grave goods, such as scarabs, it is possible to obtain both a relative and an approximate absolute date for the various levels in both shaft and chamber.

In March of 1963 the clearance of V-48 was undertaken; this tomb was the most exciting discovery of the season, providing a veritable treasure of pottery, vessels of bronze and alabaster, and above all, the exquisite bronze mirror, which the *UNESCO Courier* described as «perhaps the most graceful object to come out of Nubia». One must read the more length report of Dr. Seele to capture the feeling of excitement as he describes the excavation of this tomb and the very fine objects which came from it. One of the major finds was the coffin of an elderly lady, for the coffin was in good enough condition to be preserved and its inscriptions gave one of the two known names of New Kingdom individuals whose burials were excavated by this expedition. She was «Lady of the House, Sensenbu, (also) called Tibu ».

V-60, with mass burials in the shaft and with crowded burial chamber, adds materials to our developing concept that the Qustul area was a

significant outpost of Pharaonic administration in Nubia, in the 17th, 18th, and 19th Dynasties, as has long been indicated by the presence of the Abu Simbel temples just to the north.

Also in the V Cemetery were found several large graves of A-group date; these gave a foretaste of what the following season would produce.

#### SEASON OF 1963-1964

In the autumn of 1963 the second season in the Qustul-Ballana region began on the west bank, south of Ballana, concentrating on Cemetery 221, of which Professor Emery had reported: «The graves had been heavily plundered and no excavation was attempted». Here we dug some 330 graves, mostly of Meroitic date. By far the most common type of tomb was the shaft grave, often with mudbrick vault, and sometimes with mudbrick superstructure.

A few ba-statues and Meroitic offering tables were found here, more frequently than in the Meroitic cemetery at Qustul. It appears that the Ballana Meroitic cemetery may represent an earlier tradition than Cemetery 200 at Qustul, although the similarity of pottery indicates some chronological overlapping. Objects which can be dated more specifically are a Ptolemaic coin and a glass aryballos which can be assigned to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.

Some excellent Meroitic pottery was found here, with a number of examples of a well-known type with human heads or faces on the shoulders of the vessels. Unusually fine leatherwork appeared; among it was a quiver elaborately decorated with cut-out and applique designs. Kohl tubes of wood were outstanding; several were inlaid with various relief. A fine array of jewelry was recovered: rings, nose studs, bracelets, and necklaces.

The human remains in Cemetery 221 were carefully examined and it was found that, as elsewhere in the region, most of the people were of mixed race. There were a number of pure Caucasoid type, with blond hair.

After Christmas the expedition moved across the river to Adindan and soon concentrated on Cemetery K, which was essentially C-group,

with a few graves of Hyksos and New Kingdom times. There were 50 to 60 C-group graves, with circular stone superstructure, having the usual accompanying pottery and an occasional bull's skull outside the superstructure. In this cemetery the human remains examined were largely Caucasoid in character.

Almost a kilometer to the north was another C-group cemetery, which had been designated as Cemetery T in the previous season, when a dozen extremely disturbed graves had been excavated there. In 1964 hundreds of C-group pots were found, mostly black-topped red and black incised. Perhaps the largest and best collection of black incised C-group pottery known was found by Professor George Steindorff at Aniba, but Cemeteries K and T produced parallels to most of the designs of the Aniba bowls. Two of the best incised bowls are believed to be different from any previously known. A black bowl, now in Cairo, and a red bowl, now in the Oriental Institute museum, exhibit three exquisitely cut rows of longhorned cattle and calves. Dr. Seele suggests that «these two bowls represent the very climax achieved by the C-group potters».

The burials in Cemetery T were mostly disturbed or plundered, but we still recovered an impressive amount of jewelry and leather work. Dr. Seele describes in some detail the finding of an intact grave near the center of the cemetery.

One of the interesting facts evident from the excavation of Cemeteries K and T is that cattle played a leading role in the economy of the C-group inhabitants of Adindan. The cattle skulls, representation of cows and calves on stelas, abundance of leather goods in the graves, and the two bowls mentioned above lead inevitably to that conclusion.

Dr. Seele feels that perhaps the high point of the season was reached with the discovery of Cemetery L, some distance to the north of T. This was of A-group date and though it was a small cemetery it contained some large tombs, usually made up of a long rectangular north-south shaft with a burial chamber at one side. From the size and contents of the tombs it was judged that the burials were of persons of importance. Many items of interest and significance were found here, but I must limit myself to a mention of several of the most outstanding discoveries.

L-1 produced the first of several curious objects of limestone, solid, cylindrical, with a circular depression surrounded by a wide raised rim on the upper surface. Professor Säve-Söderbergh identified a similar object as a lamp, but it seems that these cylinders probably were used for grinding the pigments for painting pottery, since one was found which bore traces of red color and other were black. [Dr. DeVries has now demonstrated conclusively that these objects were lamps or censers. He presented the material briefly in a report given at the international conference on Nubian archaeology held in Warsaw, Poland, in 1972 and more recently has discussed the subject in an article published in *SAOC* 39 (1976)].

In L-2 were found sherds of a rare new type of pottery, of which the only complete example is now in the Cairo Museum. These were in the form of shallow black bowls, with wide, flat, down-turned rims, with impressed patterns on the exterior, sometimes filled with white pigment.

Common in these graves were large storage jars of pink ware, many with groups of painted wavy lines in multiples of four. Study has shown that these lines were painted simultaneously with four brush surfaces, a practice also followed at Tell Judaidah in Syria (between Antioch and Aleppo), in the same period, at the end of the fourth millennium B.C.

L-5 brought forth a foreign-looking tall jar-stand or brazier, with a rectangular opening in the side and decorated with three snakes standing upright on their tails, somewhat Mesopotamian or Western Asiatic in feeling.

Tomb L-17 could be called the tomb of the «jeweller of A-group Qustul». The remains of the tomb-owner were too disintegrated to permit determination of age, race, or sex, but the person wore about his neck a string of ca. 60 gold beads, with a gold fly as a pendant. Most striking was a stock of some 5,528 pieces of ornaments in various states of completion: beads, ear, nose, and lip studs, along with a copper drill for piercing beads.

L-19 yielded some sherds of pink ware with painted decoration which included two groups of a pair of giraffes facing a palm tree, similar in motif to carvings known from slate palettes of the late prehistoric or

early dynastic times. This tomb was dated to the early First Dynasty by a cylindrical jar of alabaster with a raised cord pattern. Also of interest was a terra cotta hippopotamus head about 35 cm. in length, a rare plastic work which will concern historians of ancient art.

L-23, second largest tomb in Cemetery L, produced a huge bowl with decoration in red paint, with a depiction of birds and serpents well known from the British Museum storage jar with the sailboat.

The largest tomb, L-24, must have been the tomb of a notable. He was buried on a wooden bed whose posts and rails bore copper finials. He carried a mace with a pear-shaped head of grey stone, along with a spear with copper point. The most exciting find was one of the limestone cylinders referred to above. It shows a river scene with crocodile done in incised relief, «while the earliest incised reliefs are scarcely earlier than the Fourth» Dynasty. [The commonly accepted term for this type of relief is «sunk» relief]. Dr. Seele considers that this may be a huge cylinder seal and devotes considerable space to a discussion of this fascinating object. [Dr. DeVries now regards this as a unique specimen of censor or lamp. See «The Oriental Institute Decorated Censer from Nubia», *SAOC* 39 (1976) 55-74].

Again moving to the north, the expedition came across Cemetery W, which was mostly A-group, consisting of small graves, *all of which were intact*. Both W and L produced many quartz palettes with polished pebbles for grinding cosmetic pigment; the stains of malachite remained on some of these palettes. In W were found a number of the conical bowls of thin ware, polished and decorated on the exterior with designs in red and buff; two were in perfect condition, which meant one each for Cairo and Chicago. W-10 contained a set of copper tools, including an ax, two chisels, and a barbed tool of uncertain use. It appears that L and W were contemporary but that the tomb occupants came from different economic levels, with the affluent persons buried in Cemetery L.

The most humanly moving burial also came from Cemetery W but was in a shallow grave of New Kingdom date. The deceased was richly supplied with fine jewelry, a scarab and plaque of Thutmose III, a girdle of blue faience beads, a necklace of light-green faience. As the excavation progressed it was discovered that interred between the thigh bones

of the deceased woman were the remains of a newly born infant, which accompanied its mother in death and occasioned the lavish personal gifts which bore testimony to the anguished grief of the mourners.

The season concluded with a short but intensive investigation of the ruins of Kasr el-Wizz, with the purpose of providing guidance to a possible succeeding expedition. We were happy to be able to identify the building, for the discovery of monks' cells with Coptic inscriptions indicated that the structure was a monastery. The orientation of tombs to the east led us to find the monastery chapel, of which we cleared the south half and left the north half for our successor to dig. We also cleared the apse and the baptistry; the font was set in the floor, its east and south sides bearing Old Nubian inscriptions, which we copied and photographed. A tentative plan of the building complex was drawn and this and all of our other records were to be available to the person later given the task of the completion of the Kasr el-Wizz project.

In conclusion I quote Dr. Seele's expression of appreciation: «The writer of this report wishes to close it with a grateful tribute to Dr. Anwar Shukry and the late Dr. Victor Girgis, as well as to the members of the committee on the division, for all their kindnesses to the expedition, and especially for the generosity with which they rewarded our efforts in Nubia by permitting us to bring home to the Oriental Institute more than 95 % of our finds».

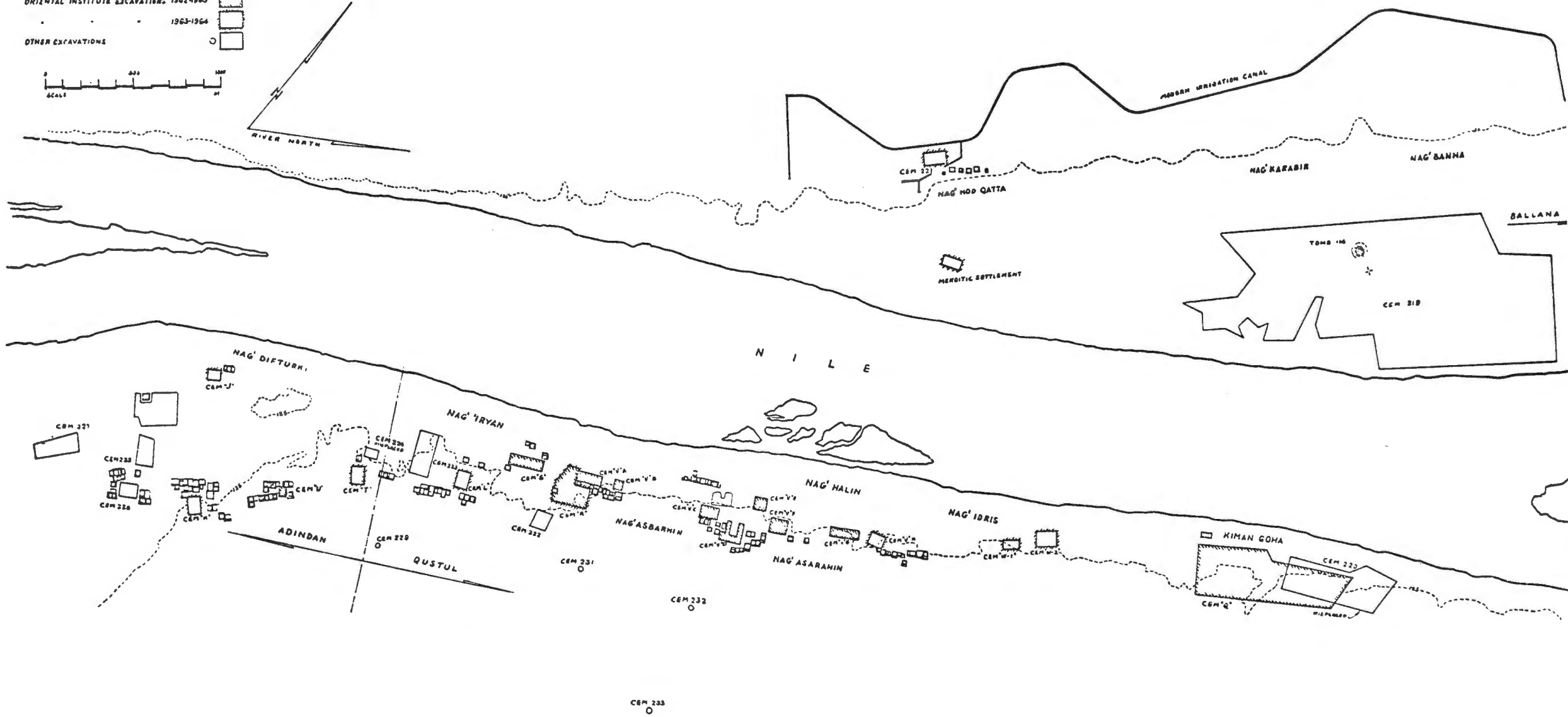
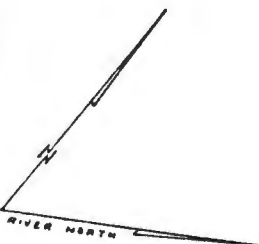
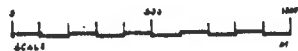
To this I append my thanks for the opportunity of having been a part of this expedition and for the privilege of addressing all of you today.

TÂFA, KALÂBSHA, WADI EL-SEBU', ROCK-  
INSCRIPTIONS AND SEMNA SOUTH

When in September 1959 the Egyptian authorities called on foreign institutions to join their forces in a general effort to save the archaeological relics of Nubia threatened by the construction of the High Dam, the Council of Trustees of the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research fully recognized the importance of this enterprise, and they decided that our Institute should contribute as much as possible to its success. Our annual budget, however, would not have allowed for the purchase or even rent of boats and other equipment necessary for setting up our own independent expedition. The way indicated for us was therefore to collaborate with other institutions, by contributing our work, time and our experience in the field of architecture as well as providing half of the necessary funds to a joint mission. With an agreement of this type, the Swiss Institute has participated in a joint campaign with the Oriental Institute of the Chicago University and has collaborated in several missions with the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo.

The results of our joint campaign with the Oriental Institute in spring 1961 have already been published completely in two volumes of the Oriental Institute's Nubian Series. The first volume which records the reliefs and inscriptions of Beit el Wâli in splendid photographs and masterly drawings made by the members of the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey in Luxor, includes plans and sections surveyed by Dr. Herbert Ricke and his assistant Carl Fingerhut, and an architectural description of the temple by Dr. Ricke, analysing the different phases of its development. The second volume comprises the discoveries made during a survey of both banks of the river between Khor Dehmit and Beit el Wâli. The three sanctuaries above Bab Kalâbsha, already known to earlier investigators, were completely excavated. In a secluded valley near Amberkâb a chapel was discovered, partly carved out of the live

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rock and partly built of quarried sandstone blocks. The flat open ground in front of it was bordered by rock-cut benches where presumably the worshippers of Isis gathered when her image was brought up from Philae in procession to visit her Nubian lands. In three cemeteries numerous tombs were investigated. Unfortunately, all had been plundered in earlier times. In spite of this, some interesting objects were collected and a new type of tomb was discovered, attributable possibly to local chieftains of the Blemmies tribes. Two hut groups far out in the desert were recorded and the badly ruined fortified Christian settlement of Darmous excavated. As Dr. Ricke had been entrusted with the responsibility for these excavations, the plans and drawings of this volume were prepared at our Institute as well as the larger part of the accompanying commentary, which includes a contribution by Dr. Labib Habachi on the pottery and other finds and the study by Dr. Louis Zabkar of three Christian tomb stelae inscribed in Greek.

Our Institute has worked with the French Institute in two joint campaigns at Wadi el Sebu', and when owing to the political situation then prevailing the French Institute temporarily suspended its activities, our Institute went back to the site for another campaign of almost two months, assisted still by its partner with funds and equipment. This time, we concentrated our efforts exclusively on the architectural survey and investigation of the Ramesside Temple, on which the French Institute had already started to work in its first campaign. As time was running short, the Centre of Documentation continued and soon afterwards completed this work. So far the results of these campaigns have been made accessible in several preliminary reports; but no decision has as yet been taken as to the form of their final publication. Our plans and sections of both temples will probably be added to the complementary material collected by the Centre of Documentation and be available in one of their publications. But there are still a number of minor discoveries made in an area of about two kilometres north and south of the temples, which deserve attention and which will probably be published in a volume of the French Institute's Series. They include three rock-shelters, one of which, in direct connection with an early rock-drawing site, contained only a few sherds of yet undetermined form

and is to be attributed to the prehistoric era, while the two others showed traces of early C-group occupation. Two hut groups and a much denuded village site point to a later C-group population in this area. We also found two New Kingdom tombs, in addition to the four already discovered by Prof. Emery in the 1930's. Unfortunately, both were plundered, but one of them had later been reused to bury a puzzling group of young animals.

Additional details will probably be given in the reports of the aforementioned Institutes, so that I shall not dwell any longer on these joint campaigns. The Swiss Institute's contribution to the saving of the Nubian Monuments was not limited to them. Already in 1958, I volunteered to accompany as architect and draftsman an expedition organized by the Department of Antiquities and directed by Prof. Gazzola. Its object was to collect information for the establishing of a first estimate of costs, which the transfer of all major Nubian temples would entail.

It has hardly ever been mentioned that apart from saving most of the temples, the Department of Antiquities also made efforts to save a good number of the minor monuments of Nubian History, such as rock-stelae and inscriptions situated outside the more important sites. In summer 1964, the Department asked me to head one of its expeditions organized for this purpose. Besides recovering a fair number of hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions, we were able to save quite a representative collection of Nubian rock-drawings, ranging from the earliest beginnings down to the Arab period. The following year, Prof. Hans Stock of the German Institute directed a similar expedition. Many other specimens were also brought back by Engineer Ahmed Lutfi, Director of Works for the Nubian monuments.

Finally, when the Egyptian part of Nubia was already submerged by the steadily mounting waters of the Nile, I agreed to join an expedition of the Chicago Oriental Institute to Semna South. In two campaigns of four months each under the directorship of Dr. Zabkar, a large cemetery of Meroitic, C-group and Coptic tombs as well as a Middle Kingdom fortress were excavated; work on the latter being placed under my supervision. Although this southernmost Middle Kingdom fort

was very much destroyed, its excavation nevertheless led to a number of important observations throwing new light on the historical development of that period.

Just in passing, I may perhaps mention other ways in which my country has supported the general effort for the saving of the Nubian monuments. As a member state of UNESCO, Switzerland contributed a million francs to the removal and reconstruction of the Abu Simbel temples. Attempts by several groups to fit out an expedition of one of our universities unfortunately failed due to various reasons. Comparatively late only, Charles Maystre, Professor of Egyptology at the University of Geneva, succeeded in raising the necessary funds for excavations in the Sudan, between Songi and Akasha. This might create the impression that the importance of saving the historical and artistic remains of Nubia had not been fully understood in my country. Such a conclusion is, however, disproved by the surprising number of young Swiss people, architects, draftsman, and even an air hostess, who worked in Nubia with our Institute or with other expeditions. Best known of all is my colleague Jean Jacquet, who has been with the Centre of Documentation for many years, partly on a grant offered by the Swiss National Fund for Scientific Research.

To conclude I would like to add some remarks on the Department of Antiquities' expedition, which I conducted in the summer of 1964. Our instructions were to collect samples of inscriptions and rockdrawings by cutting them out of the rock, beginning with those nearest to water-level. The various missions had been invited to report those specimens found in their respective concessions which they considered worth being saved. Unfortunately few answers were received in time, but earlier publications and preliminary reports somewhat helped to bridge the gap. On this basis, it was decided that our efforts should be concentrated on the area of Toskhe and Armenna and on the neighbourhood of Korosko. Near Tôshka, the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition had recorded rather interesting inscriptions of Middle and New Kingdom origin, while near Korosko the expedition of the Karls-University of Prague had shortly before discovered an important group of Middle Kingdom inscriptions. While travelling upstream to these places and on our

way back to Aswân, as well as on a refuelling trip to Abu Simbel, we stopped at a number of other sites. Samples of rock-drawings were also secured at Derr, Wadi el-Sebu<sup>c</sup>, Gerf Hussein and Korti to be included in our collection. In places where we could not afford the time to chisel out important pieces, we at least recorded them in tracings or photographs, if necessary in hand copies, whenever we found no evidence that they had already received attention. Worth a special mention here is perhaps a site south of Armenna, where, to our big surprise, we found some rock-drawings of prehistoric character in raised relief, the original rock surface around these human figures being hammered away.

While walking along the cliffs in search of specimens worth to be detached, I made a number of additional observations, such as locations of halting-places of C-group herdsmen, sites yielding neolithic flints, gravels containing microlithic flint washed down the wadi from an inland site, places where quartzite for tools was quarried, and other observations connected more particularly with the topography and geology of these parts. None of them is important in itself, but they may have some bearing on a general reconstruction of Nubian prehistory.

So far, I have refrained from publishing any of my finds, as I do not know to what extent they correspond to those already made by the expeditions in whose concessions we have been at work. Theirs is of course the right to publish first. They are kindly invited to contact me if they should think that my notes and records might be of any use to them.

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No decision has yet been taken concerning the form of the final publication.

## TÂFA AND ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN KOROSKO

It is hardly possible to condense into a mere quarter of an hour's *exposé* the results of five expeditions to Nubia. During that period a lost temple, buried below five metres of Nile deposits, was rediscovered by means of a few vague descriptions, drawings, and an old daguerreotype. At the same time, a region extending one hundred kilometres long on both banks of the Nile was fully explored and about five thousand rock-drawings and nearly three hundred rock-inscriptions, some of them of paramount importance for the history of Nubia, were found and recorded. A hitherto unknown large X-Group cemetery was also discovered and over five hundred tumuli excavated and explored together with a complete anthropological study of the human remains which they contained. Here I can touch only some high lights and rather endeavour to indicate to you the titles of books which are in preparation, the more so as the printing of a series of painstakingly complete reports has been delayed five years by reasons which we could not foresee and which were absolutely independent of our own will. As for the bibliography of preliminary reports already published, I shall only indicate it in passing, since you will find it in an appendix to this paper.

The Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology (Charles University) in Prague and in Cairo began its five archaeological expeditions to Nubia in 1961. The task of the first two expeditions of 1961 and 1962 was to find the exact location of the lost Southern Temple of Tâfa, and to make a survey of the Fortress of Qertâssi. The Southern Temple of Tâfa, the ancient Taphis, has disappeared before the time of the archaeological expeditions sent to Nubia because of the last elevation of the old Aswân Dam, and was known only from drawings and two daguerreotypes by travellers of the XVIIIth and the XIXth centuries. The location of this temple was discovered, at least partly, by our first expedition by means of a survey based chiefly on a daguerreotype of

Teynard, and soon afterwards confirmed by excavation of the site. In 1962 our task at Tâfa was completed by a series of soundings and by another survey which placed the temple in correct relation to other monuments still existing on the plain of Tâfa.

Our survey of the Fort of Qertâssi began in 1961 and was completed in 1962 after excavations of a few walls, which had been buried below Nile deposits. This survey had to be made by means of photogrammetry, since the fortress was a large one and, like the Tâfa monuments, was above water only for about one month, of the Nubian hot Summer. I may perhaps add that we were very happy when we succeeded in this task, because we accepted it with a certain bravado and only when we had been especially asked to do so by Monsieur Christophe, the then representative of the UNESCO. To work whole days in the sun when the temperature mounted to and often exceeded 50 degrees C. was by no means agreeable.

Inscriptions and several reliefs, which had escaped the notice of former travellers, were fully recorded and a hitherto unknown rock tomb situated west of the fortress was discovered and excavated. The relationship between the Tâfa and Qertâssi monuments and their true purpose were clarified by comparison with the monuments of Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus. We believe that, as in the Eastern Desert sites, the fortress of Qertâssi was not a strategic Roman stronghold, but, at least originally, a concentration camp for slaves working in the nearby quarries, of which Tâfa was the administrative centre.

Short accounts of our work at Tâfa and Qertâssi were published in many articles written in Czech, English and Arabic reports published in the UAR [1-3].

An exhaustive account of these two expeditions, with detailed plans, sketches, maps and photographs, was prepared years ago and awaits publication under the title «*Tâfa and Qertâssi 1961-1962*, by Z. ŽÁBA. *With contributions by E. Strouhal, J. Tlustý and O. Vosika, together with a report on the Department of Antiquities of the UAR excavations at Tâfa in 1960, by Shafiq Farid*». We hope that this book will appear in 1973 as the third volume of the series of our Institute's publications, of which the first volume is now in print.

The third and fourth expeditions of our Institute were made in 1963 and 1964. Their task was chiefly epigraphical. We had to explore two vast regions which were included in our concession and which covered a territory of one hundred kilometres long, extending between the famous temples of Kalâbsha and Gerf Hussein, and between those of Wâdî el-Sebû' and 'Amada, on both banks of the Nile. We found during these two expeditions 293 single inscriptions, about five thousand rock drawings and also found and recorded some very important rock paintings.

As for the inscriptions, I prepared five years ago a manuscript of about 550 pages with 300 plates of photographs, facsimiles, sketch plans and maps, which is now at last in print and is to appear next year as the first volume of our Institute Publications, under the title : «*The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak Concession)*», by Z. ŽÁBA. The sub-title continues as follows : «*With contributions by F. Hintze (Meroitic Inscriptions), F. Hintze and L. Zgusta (Carian inscriptions), and S. Segert (Aramaic Inscriptions). Latin inscriptions and those in Greek were contributed by the author. Followed by a palaeography of Ancient Egyptian Rock texts here published, by Z. Žába and M. Verner*».

Most of the inscriptions are ancient Egyptian, but they belong to all epochs of Egyptian history, from the Ist dynasty down to the Coptic Period. However, Middle Kingdom inscriptions predominate (189 graffiti, rock tablets and one large free standing stela).

The most interesting among them is a series of rock tablets found at El-Girgâwî, a few kilometres upstream of Korosko, dated to the last years of the coregency of Amenemhêt I and Sesostris I. The rock table misnamed «the Korosko inscription», long believed lost, was among them. Personal presence of Amenemhêt I is indicated by the longest of the inscriptions we found there, engraved by the scribe Renoqer for the vizier Antefoker who was present at a devastating expedition against Nubians. Other expeditions are also mentioned and it seems that not only military posts were stationed in Wawat and Satju, but that at least some parts of Lower Nubia were civilly administered then, because we found titles like «Overseer of the Satju» with Egyptian names. A large round-topped stela was erected at

El-Girgawī by the vizier Mentuhotep in the 18th regnal year of Sesostris I.

Deep in the Wādī of Korosko, on the caravan road connecting Korosko with the Sūdān, at a place called Es-Sahrigāt by the 'Abābda, we found two rock-hewn wells and three Middle Kingdom inscriptions. This fact shows that the direct route through the desert to Abu Hamad in the Sūdān was known to the Ancient Egyptians.

As for the five thousand rock drawings, the forthcoming book which is to appear in our Institute's Publications series is in an advanced stage of preparation and will have as title : «*Catalogue of Rock Drawings of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak Concession)*». Text by J. MALEK and F. VÁHALA».

Monographs concerning the drawings of ships (by J. Malek), patination (by P. Cervíček), *plantae pedis* (by M. Verner), and the following animals : elephant [4], hippopotamus, giraffe, gazelles and antelopes (by F. Váhala) are ready to be printed, whereas monographs concerning human figures, sexual symbols, geometrical drawings, and the remaining animals (dogs, cattle, donkeys, horses, camels, ostriches, crocodiles and serpents) are in preparation.

One rock shelter with rock paintings, already but only imperfectly published by Dunbar, and another shelter, found by Smith during his archaeological survey, were fully recorded and a new one discovered. They will be published under the title of «*The paintings of three rock-shelters at Korosko*», by Z. ŽÁBA. The reproductions of the pictures are now ready for print, the text will be completed before the end of this year.

A preliminary report of the third expedition was published in *Fouilles en Nubie* in 1967 [5]. The third and the fourth expeditions were described by me in the *New Orient Bimonthly* [6] in 1965, where you will also find samples of our rock drawings and colour photographs of the central part of the Smith shelter. A permission to reproduce a photograph of the same shelter was also granted by our Institute to the Swiss journalist Gerster and was published in his nice picture book about Nubia.

During these two expeditions of 1963 and 1964 also a preliminary archaeological survey of our concession was made and two sites of rock hewn tombs excavated. The results will be published in our series of

publications under the title «*A Preliminary Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Czechoslovak Concession*», by E. STROUHAL and Z. ŽÁBA.

It was during this preliminary survey of 1964 that we discovered a hitherto unknown large X-Group cemetery at Wādī Qitna, which we explored in the following year, together with the southern part of another cemetery of the same epoch, situated west of Kalábsha, which also belonged to our concession (the northern part of this last named cemetery was in the concession of the Chicago University). We have excavated more than 500 tumuli, of which several were of unusually large dimensions. Although all the tombs had been plundered, we have nevertheless found a comparatively rich collection of offerings and many human remains. Among the finds we may mention a Greek inscription incised on a large glass cover of a vase. It is an invocation to the prophetic powers of the goddess Isis. Pottery finds were abundant; the most important is without doubt a rich collection of hand-made black ware with brown or red slip (or combination of both), beautifully incised with varied patterns of geometrical ornaments, and, in three cases, with animal figures. Many beads, bracelets, ear-rings, mats, remains of clothes etc. were also found.

The archaeological finds will be published and discussed in our Institute's series under the title : «*The X-Group Cemeteries of Wādī Qitna and of Kalábsha*», by E. STROUHAL and by Z. ŽÁBA.

Whereas this volume is planned for publication in 1975, the results of the anthropological study of human remains found in these tumuli are ready for print and are to appear in the second volume of our series in 1972 or 1973 at the latest, under the following title : «*Anthropological Study of the X-Group Cemeteries at Wādī Qitna and Kalábsha*», by E. STROUHAL.

A short account of all our Nubian expeditions was published by me in an Arabic booklet in 1965 [7]. A book containing my report of all our expeditions, richly documented, will appear next year in Prague and will be translated into English soon afterwards. The English title will presumably be «*Ten Years of Czechoslovak Excavations in the UAR*», and will also contain the most important results of my excavation of the Mastaba of Ptaḥshepses at Abusīr.

In concluding this all-too-brief survey of the varied activities of the Czechoslovak Expeditions in Nubia, I would like to emphasize that detailed publications are now and will be appearing in the next few years.

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BIETAK, Manfred

ÖSTERREICHISCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES  
INSTITUT, KAIRO

#### SAYALA

*Dem Andenken an Wilhelm Ehgartner und Johann Jungwirth, die ihre späten Lebensjahre der Erforschung der Rassengeschichte Nubiens widmeten.*

#### I. — ALLGEMEINES.

Das österreichische Nationalkomitee der UNESCO-Aktion für die Rettung der nubischen Altertümer unter dem Vorsitz des Präsidenten der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Herrn Professor R. Meister, und Frau Professor G. Thausing<sup>(1)</sup> liess in den Jahren 1961 bis 1966 im Distrikt von Sayala fünf Grabungskampagnen durchführen. Nach einer Geländebegehung von Prof. K. Kromer und Doz. W. Ehgartner im Winter 1960/61<sup>(2)</sup> wurde um die Konzession an beiden Ufern von Sayala (ca. 130 km südlich von Aswan) angesucht. Diesem Ansuchen wurde entsprochen und der ägyptische Altertumsdienst legte nach einer Erweiterung im Jahr 1964 die Grenzen dieses Gebietes folgendermassen fest<sup>(3)</sup>:

Nordgrenze am Ostufer : *Gebel Abu Zana* (Distrikt *Maharraqa*)

Nordgrenze am Westufer : *Khor Ikhmindi* (Distrikt *Maharraqa*)

Südgrenze am Ostufer : *Khor Sabkha* (Südgrenze v. *Sayala*)

Südgrenze am Westufer : *Gebel Umm Simbel* (Südgrenze v. *Sayala*)

<sup>(1)</sup> Die Grabungen kamen auf Initiative von Frau Univ.-Prof. Gertrud Thausing zustande, die auch als österreichische Delegierte bei der entscheidenden UNESCO-Sitzung im Frühjahr 1960 in Paris teilnahm. Die Subventionierung erfolgte durch das österreichische Bundesministerium für Unterricht und durch den Österreichischen Forschungsrat.

<sup>(2)</sup> Siehe unten Bibliographie B/16. Von nun an werden nur mehr die dort angeführten Chiffren verwendet.

<sup>(3)</sup> Hinweis auf der UNESCO-Karte 1 : 10.000, «*Vallée du Nil*», ed. *Ministère des travaux publics et des transports, Institut Géographique National* : Abu Zana : minute 25 : 788/39, 30; Khor Ikhmindi : 786, 40/38,50; Khor Sabkha : 780,50/26,5; Gebel Umm Simbel : 779/26.

Die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen erfolgten von 1961/62 bis 1965 unter Leitung von Prof. K. Kromer. M. Bietak wurde mit der Führung einer fünften Kampagne im Herbst 1965 beauftragt. Im Mai 1966 erfolgte noch eine Nachuntersuchung unter Karl Kromer. Mit der Organisation dieser Expedition waren in erster Linie die Prähistorische- und die Anthropologische Abteilung im Naturhistorischen Museum in Wien befasst. Die Funde und die Dokumente dieser Unternehmungen sind nun im Kunsthistorischen Museum (Ägyptische Sammlung) aufbewahrt

Die weiteren Teilnehmer der österr. Expedition waren :

- F.E. BARTH als Archäologe (2. u. 5. Kampagne)
- Doz. W. EHGARTNER als stellvertretender Expeditionsleiter und Anthropologe (1. u. 2. Kampagne)
- K. EHGARTNER als anthropol. Assistent u. Zeichner (3. Kampagne)
- R. ENGELMAYER für Felsbildaufnahme u. als Archäologe (1.-4. Kampagne)
- A. ESPINOSA als Architekt (3. Kampagne)
- P. GSCHAUER als Techniker (1.-2. Kampagne)
- J. JUNGWIRTH als stellvertretender Expeditionsleiter und Anthropologe (3. u. 5. Kampagne)
- E. NEUMANN als Arzt und Anatom (5. Kampagne)
- H. ÖLLERER als Techniker (4. Kampagne)
- N. POLAK als Architekt (5. Kampagne)
- W. STRASIL als Zeichner (4. Kampagne)

## II. — DIE ERGEBNISSE DER FELDFORSCHUNG.

Die österreichische Expedition arbeitete in drei Sachgebieten :

1. In der Ausgrabung von archäologischen Objekten.
2. Im Studium und in der Bergung der menschlichen Skelette.
3. In der Aufnahme aller Felsbilder in der Konzession.

Eines der interessantesten Objekte war eine Siedlung aus mehreren nebeneinanderliegenden Felsschutzdächern (Abriss) mit einer Felsmale-

reihöhle<sup>(1)</sup>. Diese Siedlung war offenbar wiederholt in der Zeit von Naqada II bis in frühdynastische Zeit, möglicherweise noch später, belegt. Die Abrisse waren der offenen Seite zu durch gegen das Felsdach gelehnte Windschirme geschützt. Das geräumigste Schutzdach, eher schon eine Höhle, war nach vorne zu mit einer Trockensteinmauer verschlossen gewesen, die nur einen schmalen Eingang freiliess. An der Decke waren Felsmalereien aus der Zeit der A-Gruppe, C-Gruppe und aus nachchristlicher Zeit angebracht. Es ist seltsam, dass an diesem Platz wiederholt und von langen Zeitspannen unterbrochen die in Unternubien so seltenen Felsmalereien angebracht waren. Im Gegensatz zu den sonstigen Schutzdächern wurde in der Felsmalereihöhle kein Kulturschutt gefunden. Lediglich unter der Sandoberfläche ein römischer Horizont, aus früherer Zeit nur 2 Tondisken und angebrannter Hämatit, der für die Anfertigung der Malereien diente. Da sich auch in einem Schutzdach bei *Wadi el-'Arab* die Stellen mit Felsmalereien und die Stellen mit Kulturschutt gegenseitig ausschlossen, schlugen die Autoren eine kultische Bedeutung dieser Felsmalereihöhle vor.

Durchwegs oberhalb der 130 m Höhenlinie lagen auf dem Ostufer entlang verstreut, aber schon ein wenig in der Wüste, Gräber der C-Gruppe. Sie waren aber, abgesehen vom Grabbau (Steinring mit darüber aufgeschüttetem Klaubsteintumulus) nicht sehr für diese Kultur charakteristisch und vor allem fast durchgehend beraubt. Wichtiger für die Erschliessung dieser Kultur ist die Auffindung einer kralartigen Siedlung der frühesten C-Gruppe mit Überresten von runden zeltartigen Hütten innerhalb eines Geheges, das noch an dem ellipsenförmig verlaufenden Gerottel der zurückgebliebenen Beschwerungssteine erkennbar war<sup>(2)</sup>. Hier liegt gemeinsam mit Aniba, Schicht I<sup>(3)</sup>, die früheste Siedlung der C-Gruppe vor, die in Nubien gefunden wurde. Die Lage auf dem Felsplateau hinter dem Westufer, weit von einem Abschnitt mit Fruchlandstreifen entfernt, und die zeltartige Konstruktion der Hütten legen

<sup>(1)</sup> A/1.

<sup>(2)</sup> Die C-Gruppen-Gräber sind schon endgültig ediert : A/3. Dort auch die Siedlung der C-Gruppe.

<sup>(3)</sup> STEINDORFF, G., *Aniba I.*, p. 204 ff., Abb. 16.

eine nomadische oder halbnomadische Lebensweise der frühen C-Gruppen-Bevölkerung nahe, die, den gefundenen Tierknochen nach zu schliessen, als Schafs- und Rinderzüchter lebten<sup>(1)</sup>. Da alle Fundplätze der frühesten C-Gruppen-Kultur am Westufer (und zwar auch dort wo es unwirtlicher ist, wie in Gerf Husein und in Sayala) zu finden sind<sup>(2)</sup>, wird eine Zuwanderung der Träger dieser Kultur von Westen oder Südwesten her anzunehmen sein<sup>(3)</sup>.

In der ersten Grabungskampagne gelang auch die Entdeckung eines kleinen Pan-Gräber-Friedhofs (B), auf dem Ostufer, über 600 m vom Nil entfernt in der Wüste<sup>(4)</sup>. Ein Lagerplatz derselben Kultur konnte in der Ostwüste, ca 400 m vom Nil entfernt, in *Maharraqa* Süd und drei weitere Pan-Gräber in der Westwüste, am Südufer des *Khor Abu Bakr*, 1-1,5 km vom Nil entfernt, gefunden werden<sup>(5)</sup>. Bei den alten Survey-Grabungen sind diese Gräber stets der späten C-Gruppe

<sup>(1)</sup> B/1. Unter den Tierknochen fand sich sogar ein Kamelknochen, was für diese Zeit sehr ungewöhnlich ist.

<sup>(2)</sup> A/3, p. 39, Fig. 4. Hier handelt es sich um Fundplätze der C-Gruppe, Stufe I/a (Siehe A/5). Die Kartierung von B. TRIGGER, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* (Yale 1965) p. 84, fig. 2: «*The Middle Nubian Sequence, Phases I and II*» ist für diese Frage nicht heranziehbar, da sie auf unzureichenden chronologischen Grundlagen aufgebaut wurde, womit sein «settlement pattern» für die Frühphase der C-Gruppe noch nicht genügend ausgewertet ist.

<sup>(3)</sup> Für die Kontinuität von der A- zur C-Gruppen-Bevölkerung, wie sie B. TRIGGER, *op. cit.*, p. 87-90 und I. HOFFMANN, *Die Kulturen des Niltals von Aswan bis Sennar, vom Mesolithikum bis zum Ende der christlichen Epoche* (Hamburg 1967) besonders vertreten, werden eigentlich nur wenig überzeugende «ex silentio»-Argumente verwendet. Vergleiche A/5, p. 142-148; E. EDEL, *Orientalia* N.S. 36 (1967) p. 133 ff. Die C-Gruppe ist zweifelsohne aus einer der A-Gruppe verwandten Kultur hervorgegangen, jedoch ausserhalb Unternubiens. Dafür kommt die Westwüste in Betracht, als Ursache für die Zuwanderung kann man vielleicht das Abklingen des Subpluvial in der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends verantwortlich machen (A/5, *loc. cit.* und EDEL, *loc. cit.*). Nach neuen Grabungsergebnissen im Sudan kommt nach Mitteilung von T. Säve Söderbergh auch das Gebiet von Dongola in Betracht.

<sup>(4)</sup> Karte *op. cit.*: minute 25, 784, 7/33,1; Lit.: A/3, p. 43 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> Kartenlokalisation fürs Camp: 786,3/36,5 und für den zweiten Friedhof (G/6-8) 783, 1/32, 8.

zugeschrieben worden<sup>(1)</sup>. Erst durch die Grabungen im Rahmen des UNESCO-Rettungsprogrammes konnte die kulturelle Zuordnung richtig erfasst werden<sup>(2)</sup>. Diese Funde waren für die österr. Expedition ein Anlass und sich in einer eigenen Studie mit den Pan-Gräbern auseinanderzusetzen ihre kulturelle Eigenart eindeutig zu definieren sowie ihre Herkunft und ihr Auftreten im Niltal näher zu untersuchen<sup>(3)</sup>. Auch die innere Chronologie der C-Gruppe und die Abgrenzung der C-Gruppe von der Pan-Gräber- und Kerma-Kultur wurden Gegenstand einer eigenen Abhandlung<sup>(4)</sup>. Hier sei gleich die Gelegenheit ergriffen, eine Berichtigung vorzutragen; Die Typen der Keramik P/10, P/11 möglicherweise auch P/12 in den *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe* gehören nicht der Pan-Gräber-Kultur an<sup>(5)</sup>, sondern zur bisher wenig bekannten Siedlungskeramik der C-Gruppe (Stufe II/a), wie sie u.a. in einer befestigten C-Gruppen-Siedlung in Wadi es-Sebu'a gefunden wurde<sup>(6)</sup>. Wohl gibt es auch Pan-Gräber Näpfe mit einem Muster wie Typ P/10, doch ist ihre Form flacher, der Ton weniger grau gefleckt als hellbraun und die Verzierungsrillen sind breiter<sup>(7)</sup>.

*Sayala* dürfte in spätrömischer Zeit von einiger Bedeutung gewesen sein. Im Nordteil des Distriktes wurden an beiden Nilufern grosse Gräberfelder mit einiges über Tausend von Bestattungen<sup>(8)</sup>, angetroffen. Nur ein Teil dieser Gräber konnte in der Ausgrabung bewältigt werden, wobei man sich in erster Linie auf die Friedhöfe am Ostufer konzentrierte. Aus zunächst einzelnen Felsspaltengräbern mit darüber errichtetem Steintumulus entwickelten sich Friedhöfe mit aus Trockenmauerwerk aneinandergereihten Kammern mit bis zu über 250 Bestattungen

<sup>(1)</sup> Z.B. STEINDORFF, *Aniba I*, p. 9-10: NM 4.

<sup>(2)</sup> Siehe auch Pan-Gräber-Funde von anderen Expeditionen; z.B. W. KELLY-SIMPSON, *Expedition 4* (Summer 1962) p. 42; T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Kush* 12 (1964) p. 30.

<sup>(3)</sup> A/3, p. 49-78, B/28 u. 29.

<sup>(4)</sup> A/5 vgl. auch B/2 u. B 28.

<sup>(5)</sup> A/5, p. 120, 121, Taf. 16.

<sup>(6)</sup> Zur Kenntnis dieses Materials verhalf mir freundlicherweise M. Serge Sauneron, unter dessen Leitung diese Siedlung freigelegt wurde.

<sup>(7)</sup> A/5, p. 121, «Belege aus Pan-Gräbern in Ägypten» bei P/10-12.

<sup>(8)</sup> A/6, A/10, B/4, B/5.



(Fundplatz C)<sup>1)</sup>. Die Kammern waren mit grossen Steinplatten abgeschlossen und der ganze Friedhof mit manchmal rundem, manchmal unregelmässigem Grundriss mit einer Aufschüttung aus Klaubsteinen überdeckt. Diese Friedhöfe wuchsen aus einem Kern von ein paar Gräbern. Nach und nach wurden immer weitere Kammern, gegen den Rand zu in ganzen Serien, angefügt. Die Orientierung der Bestattungen war vollkommen uneinheitlich. Die Beigaben waren in diesen Friedhöfen fast nicht vertreten, mit Ausnahme eines Fingerschutzes für Bogenschützen<sup>2)</sup> und ein paar Fingerreifen. In Nischen der Friedhofsstruktur fanden sich aber zahlreich Keramikfragmente, zumeist von Amphoren und rundbodigen Töpfen mit Spatelriffelung, die ins 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. datiert werden können. In den spätrömischen Friedhöfen am Ostufer waren fast nur männliche Bestattungen, wenig Frauen und fast keine Kinder beigesetzt, während Friedhöfe gleichen Typs am Westufer mit 60 % Kindern 25 % Frauen und nur 15 % Männern belegt waren<sup>3)</sup>. Hier am Westufer gab es zahlreich auch Beigaben in Form von Keramik, darunter auch rot- und grauschwarz polierte Näpfe mit eingeritzter Verzierung<sup>4)</sup> sowie Perlenketten (Fundplatz N). Die Untersuchung des Skelettmaterials ergab, dass von den grösstenteils männlichen Bestatteten in den Friedhöfen C am Ostufer eine grosse Anzahl Verletzungen aufwies. Viele hatten wieder verheilte Brüche des linken Unterarms (Schildarms). Einige Schädel wiesen tödliche Schwerthiebverletzungen oder Zertrümmerungen *intra vitam* auf. In einer Beckenschaufel steckte noch eine eiserne Pfeilspitze. Dies alles deutet darauf hin, dass in diesen Friedhöfen ein hoher Prozentsatz Krieger beigesetzt war, während die Zivilbevölkerung in jener Zeit offenbar auf dem sichereren Westufer wohnte. Die Bevölkerungszusammensetzung in Sayala war in der spätrömischen Zeit sehr gemischt, wie die anthropologischen Untersuchungen bisher ergaben. Sie reichte von rein europäischen

<sup>1)</sup> B/21, Abb. 7, B/23, p. 30 oben rechts.

<sup>2)</sup> Dieselben Ringe wurden auch in den Häuptlingsgräbern von Qustul und Ballana gefunden. Vgl. W.B. EMERY, *Nubian Treasure* (London 1948) pl. 34/B.

<sup>3)</sup> B/2, p. 15; B/5, p. 466.

<sup>4)</sup> B/5, Taf. 6/11.

Typen bis zu negriden Typen, wobei sich auch schon Anhaltspunkte ergeben, dass sich einzelne Typen in bestimmten Teilen dieser grossen Friedhöfe am Ostufer häufen<sup>1)</sup>.

Während die Siedlung dieser verhältnismässig grossen Population (offenbar ehemals im Fruchtländ, unterhalb der 120 m Hohenlinie) nicht mehr erhalten und zugänglich war, konnte am Westufer, am Rande der Wüste ein Viertel aus 19 Tavernen aus spätrömischer Zeit ausgegraben werden<sup>2)</sup> (frühes 5. Jahrhundert).

Es handelt sich dabei um rechteckige, aus Trockenmauerwerk gebaute Weinschenken, ohne Überdachung, daher für abendlichen Gebrauch bestimmt. Die Wände entlang waren Liegebänke aus Steinplatten und Lehm sowie Sand angebracht, daneben waren kleine Tischchen zum Abstellen der Weinbecher errichtet. Für die Lagerung der Amphoren war ein kleiner, mit Steinplatten abgedeckter Raum eingebaut. Fast jede Taverne hatte auch einen kleinen Ofen zum Anfertigen kleiner Brot- oder sonstiger Teiggerichte. Eines dieser Gebäude kann auf Grund seiner Architektur und der darin gefundenen Gegenstände am ehesten als kleines Bordell erklärt werden<sup>3)</sup>.

Es ist offensichtlich, dass diese Anlage mit 19 Weinschenken den Bedarf einer gewöhnlichen, auch grösseren Ortschaft überstieg. Neben der normalen spätrömischen Keramik sind auch hier rot- oder dunkelbraun bis schwarz polierte Näpfe mit eingeritzten Mustern gefunden worden, die in der Technik der Ausführung an Keramik älterer nubischer Kulturen erinnern<sup>4)</sup>. Anlagen mit ähnlicher Keramik sind aus *Wadi el 'Arab* und *Kalabsche* bekannt geworden<sup>5)</sup>. Offenbar gehört diese

<sup>1)</sup> B/5, Taf. 3/4 und nach mündlicher Auskunft von J. Jungwirth und E. Strouhal.

<sup>2)</sup> A/4. Zu verschiedenen Datierungen und Deutungen dieser Objekte siehe: B/2, p. 15-17; B/3, p. 467-469; B. TRIGGER, *Bi. Or.* 25 (1968), p. 192-193; H. RICKE, *Ausgrabungen von Khor Dehmit bis Beit el-Wali* (Chicago 1967).

<sup>3)</sup> A/4, p. 76, Objekt IV, Abb. 16.

<sup>4)</sup> A/4, p. 96-97, Abb. 30/4-5, Abb. 31.

<sup>5)</sup> EMERY & KIRWAN, *Excavations and Survey between Wadi es Sebu'a and Adindan*, p. 108 ff., fig. 94/1, 99/5, 103/13. L. Habachi, in H. Ricke, *op. cit.*

Keramikgattung jedoch nicht der X-Gruppen-Kultur an<sup>(1)</sup>. Wenn noch weitere solche Fundzusammenhänge durch Publikationsarbeit bekannt gemacht werden, wäre eine Spezialstudie über die Herkunft dieser Keramik von grosser Wichtigkeit.

Auch aus christlicher Zeit gibt es in Sayala einige Fundplätze. In der zweiten Kampagne konnte im Südteil des Distriktes, am Westufer eine Einsiedelei, bestehend aus 4 Einzelzellen entdeckt und ausgegraben werden. Drei von ihnen waren durch den Nilaufstau beschädigt, aus der vierten war jedoch erkennbar, dass die Eremiten hier eingemauert waren und ihre Nahrung durch ein kleines Fenster gereicht bekamen. Die mit Exkrementen angereicherten Bodenschichten der Zellen erinnern an das Büsserleben, wie es im Drama «*Die Buhlerin von Thais*» der Nonne Roswitha von Gandersheim (gest. ca. 973) geschildert wird. Die Keramikrelikte erlauben eine Datierung dieses Fundplatzes (E) in das 6. bis 7. Jahrhundert<sup>(1)</sup>. Etwas weiter nördlich, beim Weiler *Nag<sup>c</sup> el Bentikoll* wurde noch ein kleiner christlicher Friedhof (Fundplatz F) freigelegt, der auf einem Schlammhügel angelegt worden war.

Der bedeutendste christliche Grabungsplatz war jedoch die befestigte Siedlung *Nag<sup>c</sup> esh-Sheima*<sup>(2)</sup> im Nordteil des Distriktes Sayala-West. Auf einem Sandhang, von dem ein Teil bereits durch den aufgestauten Nil aufgelöst war, lagen drei Siedlungsschichten, etwa aus der Zeit vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert. Darunter dürften noch ältere Siedlungsreste gewesen sein. Leider konnte Keramik aus der Zeit des 5. Jahrhunderts nur mehr aus dem Wasser geborgen werden. Bauelemente waren bereits aufgelöst.

Die Siedlung (H) bestand ursprünglich aus gehöftartigen Schlammziegelbauten mit Tonnengewölbe, ähnlich wie man sie im nördlichen Teil Unternubiens in der gebirgigeren Landschaft zwischen Abu Hor und Kalabscha bis vor der Aussiedlung der Nubier im Jahr 1963 fand. Die oberste Siedlungsschicht bestand aus Häuserzeilen, die terrassenförmig vom Nil den Hang hinauf angelegt worden waren. Zwischen den

<sup>(1)</sup> Vorberichte in B/21 und B/24.

<sup>(2)</sup> Siehe U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La Nubia Medioevale I* (Kairo 1935) pp. 75-78. Vorberichte in B/3, B/23, B/25.

Zeilen führten Gassen zum Bergplateau herauf. Die Siedlung war durch starke Wehrmauern aus Stein und Schlammziegeln nach Norden und Süden abgesichert. Den Schutz von oben, dem Landesinneren zu, übernahm eine Festung (I) aus Trockenmauerwerk mit zwei Bastionen. In der Mitte des länglich-rechteckigen Festungshofes stand eine dreischiffige Kirche (16 × 13 m), nach Westen zu, halb in das ansteigende Felsplateau hineingemeisselt, darauf mit Steinmauern aufgebaut. Die Wände trugen einst Freskenschmuck, den man leider gewaltsam zerstört im Füllschutt in viele kleine Teile zerbrochen fand. Besonders auf die Gesichter der Heiligenfiguren hatte man es abgesehen. Gezielte Hiebe mit spitzen Gegenständen, möglicherweise Lanzen, landeten meist in Gesichtsmitte<sup>(1)</sup>. Die Freskenfragmente wurden im Österreichischen Bundesdenkmalamt in Wien restauriert, wobei sich ein grosses, ca 2 m langes Schiff zusammensetzen liess. Dieses wird von weissgesichtigen Gestalten gerudert, die mit Flügeln ausgestattet sind. Es handelt sich hier offenbar um Engel, die die Seeligen, hier Braungesichtige mit Heiligenschein rudern. Das Schiff hat gestreifte Segel und der Bordkante entlang Fender angebunden<sup>(2)</sup>.

Ein anderes Motiv, das bereits erarbeitet werden konnte, besteht aus einem Erzengel mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln über einer Gruppe von braungesichtigen Männern, von denen fast jeder ein Tongefäss mit Deckel auf der Schulter trägt. Der weissgesichtige Engel hält dabei einen dieser Männer (der kein Gefäss trägt) an den Schultern vor sich. Vielleicht handelt es sich dabei um einen lokalen Kleriker oder um den Stifter dieser Kirche. Der Stil der Fresken ist provinziell und von einer gewissen Schematisierung<sup>(3)</sup>. Es wurden aber auch gröbere Verputzstücke aus gemagertem Schlamm mit dünner Kalktünchung gefunden, die sich zu einem Erzengelskopf zusammensetzen liessen, der, wenn

<sup>(1)</sup> Siehe J. LECLANT, *Orientalia*, N.S. 35 (1966), Tab. XV/fig. 26.

<sup>(2)</sup> Diese Arbeiten wurden von Prof. Fr. Jaksch durchgeführt.

<sup>(3)</sup> Vergleichbare Fresken finden sich weniger in *Faras* als in sonstigen Provinzkirchen wie z.B. in *Abkanarti* (F.J. PRESEDO VELO, *Memorias de la Mision Arqueologica VII*, Madrid 1965, Lamina XXXVI). In *Faras* kommt der Brauch, Engel weissgesichtig und Menschen braungesichtig zu malen, im 10. Jahrhundert auf.

auch in einfacherer Form, Erzeugeldarstellungen aus dem 8. Jahrhundert in Faras sehr ähnlich sieht<sup>(1)</sup>. In der Tat dürfte die Kirche in dieser Zeit errichtet worden sein. Sie stand schon vor dem Bau der Festung auf dem Felsplateau und ist wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig mit einer der früheren Siedlungsschichten angelegt worden.

In einer Nische im Westteil des Mittelschiffes war in situ noch das lebensgrosse Bildnis eines Heiligen erhalten. Der grösste Teil des Kopfes war durch einen wuchtigen Hieb abgeschrämt worden, und dabei ist auch ein grosser Teil des oberen Verputzes in Trümmer gegangen<sup>(2)</sup>. Leider ist uns daher der in Farbe aufgeschriebene Name nicht mehr erhalten geblieben. «ὁ ἅγιος ...» war in sehr blasser Farbe gerade noch erhalten. Zu beiden Seiten dieser Figur waren Besucherinschriften in Koptisch und Altnubisch eingraviert, wobei nubische Namensbildungen auffallend sind.

Im Sand, der den Boden der Kirche schon in ihrer Verwendungszeit bedeckte, kam eine grosse, innen mit einziseliertem Muster versehene vergoldete Messing-Schüssel zum Vorschein. Ein ganz erhaltenes Räuchergefäss, in derselben Art wie die Schüssel angefertigt, fand man unter einem Stein der Bodenpflasterung im Presbyterium und ein weiteres, einfacheres Räuchergefäss, mit noch angebranntem Weihrauchharz darin, lag in einer eingebauten Abstellwanne in der nördlichen Sakristei.

Südlich der Kirche, also im südlichen Hof der Festung, lag ein kleiner Friedhof. Bemerkenswert ist das Gewölbegrab 4, in dem nicht weniger als 7 Bestattungen untergebracht waren. Die untersten drei hatten hohe bestickte Lederschuhe an, die teilweise innen mit färbiger Wolle gefüttert waren. Die Schuhe der untersten drei Bestattungen hatten aufgenähte Kreuze. Die Schuhe von Bestattung 3 waren unverziert, ins Leichentuch war mit rotem Faden mit kufischer Schrift gestickt: «*Gottes Segen dem Khalifen Abdallah, Gott segne ihn. Es wurde gemacht im Jahr 296*», das ist ca. das Jahr 909 A.D.<sup>(3)</sup>. Der Fund dieses Gewebes mit der Inschrift

<sup>(1)</sup> Siehe MICHALOWSKY & GERSTER, *Faras* (Zürich-Köln 1967), Taf. 23-25.

<sup>(2)</sup> J. LECLANT, *Orientalia*, N.S. 35 (1966) Taf. XV/26.

<sup>(3)</sup> Die Übersetzung und Deutung des Fundes verdanke ich Herrn Helmut Satzinger, Ägyptol. Abt. des Kunsthist. Museums in Wien. Vgl. B/25.

ist als Zeichen für die Anwesenheit islamischer Händler in Unternubien zu werten. Ausserdem ergibt sich ein näherer chronologischer Ansatzpunkt für die ganze Anlage, etwa ins 10. Jahrhundert, denn bei Stoffen kann man nicht mit einer sehr langen Umlaufzeit rechnen. Die Grabsteine dieses Friedhofes, die zerbrochen in Steinwurfweite der Gräber, umherlagen (ein Stück fand sich auch in der darunterliegenden Siedlung H) sind zum Teil eher später zu datieren<sup>(1)</sup>.

Hinter der Festung, auf dem sanft ansteigenden Wüstenplateau liegt ein ausgedehntes christliches Gräberfeld, das nicht vollständig ausgegraben werden konnte. In südwestlicher Richtung von der Festung stand noch eine zweite kleinere dreischiffige Kirche aus Stein und Schlammsiegeln gebaut. Diese Kirche wurde irrtümlicherweise durch eine Expedition unter Leitung von François Daumas im Frühjahr 1964 freigelegt<sup>(2)</sup>.

Südlich dieser kleinen Kirche, noch im Schutz der verlängerten Westwand war noch ein kleiner Friedhof aus 12 Gräbern (Erwachsene und Kinder) angelegt, aus dem noch schöne Funde zutage kamen, wie ein verziertes Silber- oder Elektrumarmband. Die Kirche dürfte zu der ungeschützten südlichen Fortsetzung der Wehrsiedlung H gehört haben. Diese musste leider unausgegraben bleiben.

Im grossen und ganzen konnte jedoch die christliche Siedlung von Nag' esh-Sheima in vollem Umfang, mit dazugehöriger Festung mit Kirchen und Gräberfeldern erfasst und mit vielen interessanten Detail-

<sup>(1)</sup> Eine Serie von Grabsteinen, die mit einem griechischen Gebet beginnen, sind vielleicht mit der Einführung des melkitischen Ritus in Nubien in der Wende des 10. zum 11. Jh. in Zusammenhang zu bringen. Nach einer Studie von OATES, *JEA* 49 (1963), pp. 161-171, sind diese Grabsteine ins 11. und 12. Jh. zu datieren. Der älteste stammt vom Erzbischof Johannes von Pachoras (gest. 1005). Fragmente von Grabsteinen dieses Typs sind auch auf dem Friedhof südlich der Kirche I/II gefunden worden.

<sup>(2)</sup> Auf freundliche Vermittlung des UNESCO-Beauftragten in Ägypten, Herrn LOUIS CHRISTOPHE wurde der Irrtum insofern korrigiert, als die Funde dieser Grabung und die betreffenden Photonegative an die österreichische Expedition abgetreten wurden.

befunden ausgegraben werden. Durch die Stratigraphie und die Datierungsangaben wird es möglich sein, wertvolle Unterlagen über die Datierung und relative Chronologie der christlichen Keramik Nubiens vorzulegen. Ausserdem ist damit ein weiterer Beitrag zur Erschliessung der christlichen Besiedlung Nubiens gewonnen.

Durch die Arbeiten der Anthropologen *Wilhelm Ehgartner* †, *Johann Jungwirth* † und *Eugen Strouhal* sind bedeutende Beiträge in der Rassengeschichte und Demographie des alten Nubien zu erwarten. Als Grundlage dienten ca 1.000 aufgenommene Skelette, die im Laufe der österr. Grabungen freigelegt wurden und mehrere Hundert Skelette, die noch aus den Grabungen von Professor *H. Junker* in Toshke, Ermenne und Kubanieh stammen. Dabei ist auf die rassengenetische Unterscheidung zwischen Pan-Gräber und C-Gruppen-Population hinzuweisen<sup>(1)</sup>.

Mit der Edierung des grossen, in Sayala gewonnenen Felsbilder-material wurde bereits begonnen<sup>(2)</sup>. Insgesamt liegen etwa 5.000 aufgenommene Einzelzeichnungen oder Gruppen, begonnen von Darstellungen von Savannenfauna und Naqada II-Schiffen aus vordynastischer Zeit bis zu Darstellungen von Kamelreitern, die die Landnahme durch die Araber repräsentieren. Im Verband mit der archäologischen Tätigkeit konnten auch Ansatzpunkte über die Datierung mancher Felsbildergruppen gewonnen werden.

<sup>(1)</sup> Diese Unterscheidung stützt sich nicht nur auf einen Vergleich mit dem untypischen C-Gruppen-Skelettmaterial aus Sayala, sondern auch auf den Vergleich mit den C-Gruppen-Skeletten der H. Junker-Grabungen aus Toshke, Ermenne und Kubanieh-Nord. Vergl. dazu J. LECLANT, *Orientalia*, N.S. 37 (1968) pp. 156-159.

<sup>(2)</sup> A/2.

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## HIERA SYKAMINOS, IKHMINDI, TAMIT ET QUBÂN

Les expéditions archéologiques en Nubie, que j'ai eu l'honneur de diriger pendant la campagne de sauvetage, sont liées toutes à la vie universitaire : à l'Université de Milan d'abord, et à celle de Rome à la fin.

Ce support académique doit être bien présent à l'esprit, car c'est à lui que l'on doit une certaine manière de concevoir la fouille, ainsi qu'une certaine allure didactique que nos travaux ont eue souvent. Le choix des endroits à explorer a été déterminé par le désir de circonscrire un problème plutôt que par l'intérêt basé uniquement sur la recherche d'objets ; la composition des missions successives a toujours été caractérisée par la présence de spécialistes de matières différentes et par la participation de jeunes qui ont fait, en Nubie, leur apprentissage archéologique ou tout au moins y ont pris contact avec le terrain.

Nous devons aussi souligner que l'invitation à participer aux travaux en Nubie a été l'heureuse occasion pour que Milan ou Rome reprennent, ou commencent, une activité archéologique sur les chantiers égyptiens après la parenthèse causée par la guerre. L'invitation à se joindre à l'œuvre de sauvetage est arrivée à Milan en 1958. En 1956 j'avais eu le privilège de faire partie, pour quelques mois, de la première expédition de relevé par le Centre de Documentation, à Abou Simbel. J'avais ainsi une première expérience des conditions et des exigences du travail dans la région ; sur cette base, j'ai demandé et obtenu quelques crédits à l'Université de Milan où j'étais alors professeur.

La formation de la Mission a été conçue de telle sorte que les traditions milanaises de recherche en Egypte soient poursuivies bien que dans un cadre très différent ; les travaux de Vogliano<sup>(1)</sup> avaient porté sur des

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<sup>(1)</sup> S. DONADONI, «Le spedizioni archeologiche milanesi in Egitto e in Nubia», in *Atti del Congresso di studi su La Lombardia e l'Oriente* (Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere) Milano 1963, p. 133 sqq.

centres tardifs (Tebtynis, Madinet Madi) et je me souvenais bien que ses dernières démarches, en Égypte, à l'époque de 1940, avaient abouti à l'autorisation de fouiller Péluse, où il s'attendait à des découvertes d'un intérêt singulier, vu que ce site était le point d'interconnexion entre l'Égypte et l'Asie. C'est dans cet esprit, que j'ai prié mon collègue d'archéologie classique de se joindre à la Mission, et que j'ai demandé d'explorer l'endroit qui représentait la frontière entre deux différentes cultures, celle de l'Égypte gréco-romaine et celle de Méroé. Ce site était Hiera Sykaminos, tout au fond de la Dodekaschoene, à l'endroit de la moderne Ofedunia, ou, si l'on veut employer la terminologie archéologique - qui ne correspond pas toujours à celle de la géographie, Maharraqa. On connaissait bien son petit temple qui avait, en partie, été démonté puis transféré au Musée du Caire et qui avait aussi été très radicalement reconstruit par Barsanti<sup>(1)</sup>, mais l'on savait encore que, dans la région, on avait identifié des restes de ville, situés dans une bande de terrain qui, en général, était immergée<sup>(2)</sup>. Pour la voir, nous aurions dû être singulièrement favorisés par des eaux basses. En réalité, lorsque nous arrivâmes au Caire, en Septembre 1958, je fus mis brusquement au courant du fait que, le Nil étant très haut, même le temple de la ville n'était pas praticable. C'est sur cet imprévu, qui heureusement ne nous avait pas été signalé avant que nous ne quittions Milan, qu'il devint nécessaire de changer partiellement notre programme.

En observant la côte, du bateau qui nous avait autrefois emmené à Abou Simbel, j'avais déjà remarqué avec intérêt un champ de ruines assez considérable, Ikhmindi, à quelques kilomètres à peine, au Sud de Maharraqa. J'avais lu dans la «Nubia Medioevale» de Monneret de Villard<sup>(3)</sup> une description assez étendue de ce site; et, comme on pouvait le considérer comme appartenant à la région pour laquelle nous avions obtenu la concession de recherche, la Mission s'y implanta.

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<sup>(1)</sup> G. MASPERO, «Rapport relatif à la consolidation des Temples» (en titre : «Temples immergés de la Nubie») Le Caire 1911 p. 99 sqq.

<sup>(2)</sup> A.E.P. WEIGALL. *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Oxford 1907 p. 95.

<sup>(3)</sup> U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La Nubia Medioevale*, Le Caire 1935 vol. I, p. 66 sq.

Nous décidâmes de travailler à un relevé de l'agglomération, et de l'étudier sous l'aspect soit de la chronologie soit de la structure. Il n'y avait pas de couches superposées car tout était bâti sur le rocher même, et il était évident, à la première observation, que nous étions en présence d'un organisme urbain bien coupé et unitaire.

Reprenant le travail de Monneret de Villard, nous avons plus précisément déterminé le plan qui montre une structure assez typique; une muraille en pierre, couronnée par un mur en brique crue, encerclant une zone d'habitations ayant la forme d'un rectangle étendu suivant la direction du Nil; elle s'appuyait d'un de ses deux côtés longs sur le fleuve, dans lequel il se précipitait par une série de ravins très escarpés et d'un parcours très difficile. Deux portes perçaient l'enceinte au Nord et au Sud, la porte méridionale était caractérisée par un dispositif en chicane, tandis que l'autre avait été bloquée à un autre moment. Des deux rues qui aboutissaient aux portes, celle du Sud était caractérisée par la présence de bâtiments la chevauchant, l'accès à ces bâtiments semblait parfois comporter une descente, par le haut, dans les chambres. Des citernes, des points d'eau étaient répartis dans l'enceinte. Un pressoir à vin a été récemment identifié par Adams<sup>(1)</sup> au pied du rocher surplombant le Nil. Les maisons étaient assez bien disposées sur le terrain; il semble qu'il y avait la possibilité de réunir, dans la ville, des animaux domestiques et des troupeaux, si l'on tient compte de la présence d'un vaste espace vague, à l'intérieur du village. Ce qui donne un caractère bien défini au complexe, c'est la présence d'une église située au centre. Elle est de plan très archaïque, avec abside polygonale, et est évidemment placée de telle sorte, qu'il faut considérer la structure du village comme étant déterminée par la présence de ce bâtiment à son centre.

Nous avons tout de suite reconnu que le plan de la ville était unitaire, qu'il était chrétien, qu'il devait remonter au début du christianisme officiel dans la Nubie. Mais une découverte décisive devait nous donner plus de précisions à ce sujet.

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<sup>(1)</sup> W.Y. ADAMS, «The Vintage of Nubia», *Kush*, 14 (1966), p. 262 sqq.

Au Sud de la ville, à quelques dizaines de mètres de l'enceinte, nous avons déblayé une deuxième petite église, dont le plan est en réalité plus récent que celui de l'église urbaine <sup>(1)</sup>. Sur le sol de celle-ci on a trouvé une dalle avec une inscription rappelant la fondation d'une ville fortifiée par un roi des Nobades jusqu'ici inconnu, commençant par une invocation d'allure scripturale, et donnant à la fin le nom d'un certain nombre de personnages ecclésiastiques et administratifs, ainsi que celui des *technitai* qui avaient accompli l'œuvre. Il nous a été possible d'identifier quelques-uns des personnages nommés, et de dater ainsi le tout à l'époque de Justinien — c'est-à-dire au moment même de la date traditionnelle de l'évangélisation du pays <sup>(2)</sup>. Les parallèles de cette inscription ainsi que le plan de la ville nous ont ramené plus vers le monde byzantin que vers celui de l'Égypte. En tenant compte de ces faits, nous avons considéré la ville comme un ouvrage planifié par des techniciens faisant partie de la mission religieuse, ou tout au moins en connexion avec elle. Ces résultats, que nous nous sommes empressés de faire connaître, ont été acceptés, comme point de départ, par nos collègues; la fouille elle-même d'ailleurs nous donnait le désir de contrôler sur le terrain notre supposition relative au caractère volontaire de ce type de plan urbain. Nous l'avions tout de suite rapproché de celui d'un groupe d'autres sites nubiens, ayant comme traits caractéristiques une enceinte de pierre, deux portes selon l'axe parallèle au Nil, une église au centre, d'autres églises dans le *pomoerium*, des rues plus ou moins orthogonales entre elles, des portes en chicane, le manque presque absolu de documentation écrite.

C'est ainsi que l'année suivante, au moment même où nous nous sommes occupés de maintenir nos obligations à propos de Maharraqa, nous avons demandé de fouiller les sites chrétiens apparentés avec Ikhmindî.

<sup>(1)</sup> W.Y. ADAMS, « Architectural Evolution of the Nubian Church », *JARCE*, IV, (1965) p. 134, 135.

<sup>(2)</sup> S. DONADONI, « Les débuts du Christianisme en Nubie », in *Actes du Symposium International sur la Nubie* (Mém. de l'Inst. d'Eg., Tome LIX) Le Caire 1969, p. 25 sqq. Mais voir aussi T. SÄVE SÖDERBERGH ap. C.J. GATDBERG, « Late Nubian Sites », *SJE*, Vol. VII, Helsinki 1970, p. 14 sqq.

En 1959 la Mission achevait par quelques sondages supplémentaires les recherches de l'année précédente, et commençait l'étude de Hiera Sykaminos. Au groupe initial s'étaient joints un égyptologue, Bosticco, et un professeur d'urbanisme, Calandra, dans l'espoir d'identifier la ville antique. Cette fois encore, les eaux du Nil nous ont éloigné de la recherche de la zone habitée, et nous ont empêché de faire un nouveau relevé du temple. Cependant, en haut sur la berge, à très petite distance du temple, il nous a été possible d'identifier une nécropole de tombeaux méroïtiques. Les bâtiments comportaient une sorte de plinthe carrée, (tout ce qui restait de la pyramide originale) devant laquelle se trouvait l'emplacement pour la table d'offrande. Les corps étaient placés dans une petite chambre hypogée, parfois couverte d'une voûte en briques, ou encore coupée à angle droit dans le rocher et bloquée en haut par des dalles en pierre. Le mobilier funéraire que nous avons retiré des tombeaux est encore déposé au Musée d'Eléphantine : il s'agissait surtout de poteries, mais l'objet le plus significatif est un bol de bronze avec représentation de vaches passantes, assez semblable, bien que plus modeste, à celui conservé au Musée du Caire et provenant de Karanog <sup>(1)</sup>.

La petite nécropole doit son intérêt au fait même d'être placée relativement très au Nord, dans une ville qui à cette époque-là était sous une administration autre que celle de Méroé <sup>(2)</sup>, plus qu'aux objets qui y ont été découverts et qui sont tous bien placés dans la typologie (établie depuis bien longtemps déjà par Griffith et en partie renouvelée par Adams).

L'illustration des résultats de ces découvertes est consignée dans une brève étude qui donne l'essentiel et qui souligne surtout cette double fonction de ville frontière : un caractère qui nous avait intéressé dès le début.

Une fois achevée l'exploration du site méroïtique, nous avons pu étudier les villes chrétiennes dont nous avons trouvé le prototype à

<sup>(1)</sup> S.J. WOOLLEY and D. RANDALL MCGIVER, *Karanog. The Roman Nubian Cemetery*. Philadelphia 1910, Text p. 59 sqq. pl. 26-28.

<sup>(2)</sup> S. DONADONI, « La Nubia Tolemaica e Romana », in *Cahiers d'Hist. Eg.* X (1967) p. 123 sqq. Pour une vue plus complexe du problème cfr. J. DESANGES, « Le Statut et les Limites de la Nubie Romaine », *CdE* XLIV n° 87 (1969) p. 139 sqq.



Ikhmindi. La plus évidente était Sabagura <sup>(1)</sup>, presque en face de Gerf Hisein et immédiatement au Nord des dernières maisons de Qirsha. On trouvait là, la même disposition de base ; la principale différence consistait dans le fait que le plus grand axe de la ville était perpendiculaire au Nil, alors qu'à Ikhmindi cet axe était parallèle au fleuve.

La Mission a élargi ses cadres à cette occasion et a accueilli de jeunes archéologues provenant pour la plupart de l'Université de Rome. Ils devaient, par la suite, faire partie de la Mission elle-même, avant de passer plus tard dans d'autres organisations archéologiques ou universitaires. Il s'agit de Mlle Bresciani, de Mlle Roveri, égyptologues, et de M. Torelli, épigraphiste classique. La fonction didactique de notre Mission en était ainsi soulignée, selon un plan auquel nous avons toujours beaucoup tenu.

A Sabagura nous avons relevé le plan des vestiges de la ville. Lepsius <sup>(2)</sup> parlait encore de maisons et d'inscriptions coptes et arabes sur leurs parois. Malgré les descriptions optimistes de nos devanciers, nous avons constaté que, la pierre étant ici d'un emploi beaucoup plus répandu qu'à Ikhmindi, et étant mise en œuvre sans d'autre lien qu'un peu de limon avarement employé, les murs délabrés sont devenus des tas de pierraille où l'on arrive à deviner difficilement les lignes générales des constructions.

L'enceinte, par contre, était mieux bâtie ; elle comprenait des remparts, des tours angulaires et des entrées monumentales, dont l'une avait été bloquée et l'autre présentait un dispositif en chicane. En dehors de la ville, il y avait deux églises dont la construction avait été soignée et dont on pouvait encore reconstituer le plan et même une partie des parois. Celle qui semblait la plus ancienne était au Sud. Dans les deux cas nous avons affaire au plan classique, et pour l'église septentrionale on a réussi à recueillir un certain nombre de graffiti en grec, en copte et en vieux nubien.

Signalons que dans les alentours immédiats de Sabagoura on a trouvé aussi de nombreuses figurations rupestres qui furent patiemment

<sup>(1)</sup> U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *o.c.*, p. 46.

<sup>(2)</sup> R. LEPSIUS, *Denk.* Text V, p. 53.

recueillies et étudiées par l'expédition. Le principal intérêt de cette recherche a été la mise en évidence du fait suivant : la ville réelle avait débordé — pour ainsi dire — au dehors de l'enceinte, et elle était venue s'élargir selon un axe parallèle au Nil. Cette évolution était en contraste avec le plan originel de la ville, et répondait à des réalités tellement impérieuses qu'il était difficile d'admettre qu'on ait dû attendre la force des choses pour donner cette suggestion. Peut-être que le plan primitif de la ville avait été conçu et dessiné ailleurs, par un « technicien » qui n'avait pas une expérience réelle de l'endroit. L'abandon du plan pour un système plus pratique, qui n'éloigne pas trop les maisons de l'eau est une *adaptation locale* d'un schéma conçu ailleurs. Dans l'histoire de la Nubie nous nous trouvons ici en présence d'un enrichissement des traditions indigènes grâce à des apports étrangers, qui pénètrent avec l'évangélisation et arrivent à déterminer des solutions aux problèmes les plus concrets, tel, ici, celui de la planification urbaine.

Après Sabagura, notre intérêt pour les agglomérations d'époque chrétienne nous encourageait à fouiller d'autres sites du même type. Cheikh Dawd avait été assigné à la Mission Espagnole <sup>(1)</sup>, le village chrétien de Kalabsha à nos collègues du Musée de Turin <sup>(2)</sup>, et pour notre part nous désirions nous attaquer à l'exploration d'un site qui montrait des singularités assez marquées jusque dans le premier relevé de Monneret de Villard : Tamit <sup>(3)</sup>, à quelques kilomètres au Nord d'Abou Simbel, en face de Fourgoundi. Mais l'octroi de la concession pour travailler dans cet endroit a trouvé des difficultés toujours renouvelées et basées sur des confusions très banales, qui ont fait traîner pendant deux ans notre demande.

Dans l'attente, nous nous sommes employés à un relevé et à une exploration du site de Qubân, où les travaux de Firth <sup>(4)</sup> et d'Emery <sup>(5)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> F.J. PRESEDO VELO, *La Fortaleza Nubia de Cheikh Dawd*, Madrid 1964.

<sup>(2)</sup> S. CURTO et autres, *Kalabscha*, Roma 1965.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *o.c.*, p. 146 sqq.

<sup>(4)</sup> C. FIRTH, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1910-1911*.

<sup>(5)</sup> W.E. EMERY and L.P. KIRWAN, *The Excavations and Survey between Wad es-Sebu'a and Adindan, 1929-1931*, Cairo 1938, Vol. I (Text), p. 26-69 ; Vol. II (Plates) 1-14.

semblaient avoir tout de même laissé quelque espoir de recherche au dehors de la zone de l'ancienne forteresse et de la nécropole «Kerma». Borchardt<sup>(1)</sup> avait étudié le temple du Nouvel Empire, et nous nous sommes limités à en faire le relevé. Beaucoup de détails avaient disparu, mais les fondations étant en grande partie découpées dans le rocher, on a pu refaire le travail, non sans quelques améliorations. Il faut toutefois avouer que le vrai but de notre campagne, en deux périodes distinctes (1961 et 1963), n'a pas été atteint. En effet les voyageurs du siècle passé<sup>(2)</sup> avaient vu à Qubân beaucoup plus que ce que nous pouvions y reconnaître à première vue; nous avons tâché d'utiliser leurs notes, leurs dessins, leurs remarques topographiques, leurs mesures pour retrouver, au moins, des fondations, des blocs, des vestiges. Mais ce fut en vain, en effet il semble qu'à Qubân on se soit amusé à cacher et à démembrer tout ce qui y avait été observé auparavant. Les quelques graffiti que nous y avons relevés et copiés, le profond puits circulaire avec escalier à vis que nous avons pu vider seulement jusqu'au niveau de l'eau, la stèle datée de Thutmosis III, ne sont pas une récompense suffisante pour les efforts que nous avons dépensés dans ce site et les espoirs que nous y avions mis.

Après les deux campagnes de Qubân, nous arrivâmes enfin à nous mettre d'accord avec le Service des Antiquités et avec l'Expédition de Yale et Pennsylvanie qui, entre temps, avait reçu en concession toute la région environnante, pour commencer la fouille de Tamit. Il y eut encore des difficultés budgétaires, et les choses devinrent si compliquées que pour sortir de l'impasse, l'Université de Rome décida de fonder une nouvelle Mission, qui absorba le personnel de celle de Milan et y ajouta de nouveaux membres pour arriver enfin à explorer le site. Mais la dernière saison utile, celle de 1964, fut caractérisée par un Nil beaucoup plus haut que d'habitude, et bien que notre travail ait été entrepris vers la moitié du mois d'août, nous n'avons pu fouiller que pendant vingt jours.

<sup>(1)</sup> L. BORCHARDT, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang* (Beiträge zur äg. Bauforschung Heft 2) Cairo 1938.

<sup>(2)</sup> Les indications dans PORTER and MOSS, *Top. Bibl.* VII, p. 82.

Nous avons relevé le plan de la ville, déblayé des maisons et des églises, recueilli des poteries, identifié et fouillé une nécropole prédynastique et une autre chrétienne; nous avons pris note des détails techniques de l'architecture. Il importe de signaler que nous avons trouvé une série de peintures, autres que celles jadis signalées par Monneret de Villard, et qui ont pu, en partie, être déposées grâce au généreux dévouement de Mr Ibrahim Abdelqader Hasan, restaurateur du Service des Antiquités, qui se trouvait sur place. Mais il faut dire que tout ce travail anxieux, fait en luttant contre la montre alors que les eaux de la crue montaient implacablement, nous a fait, chaque jour, déplorer que tant de petites mais nombreuses entraves nous aient enlevé ce qui aurait été le résultat le plus important du point de vue archéologique de notre activité en Nubie.

L'acharnement avec lequel nous avons travaillé à Tamit a été récompensé (au moins je le crois) par les résultats: les éléments que nous avons pu recueillir sont suffisants pour nous donner une idée assez complète du site, de son importance, de son caractère. L'aspect le plus remarquable était l'absence de tout ouvrage de fortification d'un côté, ce qui ramenait la fondation de la ville à une époque de complète paix et de sûreté absolue. De même, le nombre des églises (huit), se côtoyant l'une avec l'autre dans plus d'un cas, ne pouvait pas manquer de frapper. Celles des églises qui avaient été couvertes par le sable gardaient des peintures et des inscriptions témoignant, par leur style différent et par les types des textes, un développement de l'histoire du centre par étapes successives. En comparaison avec les poteries «classic Christian» trouvées par Monneret de Villard<sup>(1)</sup> celles que nous avons trouvées nous-mêmes sont plus tardives, «late Christian». En réalité on doit croire que le centre a eu une vie assez longue, et un caractère assez particulier de «ville sainte», où l'on pouvait venir en pèlerinage — ainsi que semble l'indiquer une inscription en vieux nubien — dont ce qu'on arrive à comprendre semble être une action de grâces, probablement à la suite de la guérison d'une maladie des yeux. Ce texte nous donne encore un nom royal, celui de Joël, qui est connu parmi les roitelets

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *o.c.*, Vol. III, tav. 193 sq.

de la basse époque nubienne<sup>(1)</sup>, l'inscription n'étant pas peinte sur la couche la plus ancienne du plâtre de l'église est donc plus tardive que les peintures, ou plutôt qu'une partie de celles-ci.

Le problème évident qu'une fouille de ce type posait, aussitôt que l'on eut ramassé toutes les données que le hâtif travail nous permettait, c'était de placer un ensemble aussi caractérisé et intéressant dans un cadre historique bien défini. Les datations relatives et absolues ont pu être assez raisonnablement établies. Mais dans ce milieu, le vrai problème était de reconnaître les relations de nos découvertes avec le milieu de Faras, le centre de rayonnement le plus important de la Basse-Nubie chrétienne.

Il est assez instructif de noter que la première évaluation en termes d'absolu — des peintures et des problèmes de l'art nubien ne dérive pas des travaux des gens qui les premiers et d'une façon plus méthodique s'y sont appliqués, un Griffith, par exemple, ou un Mileham, ou même un Monneret de Villard. Pour tous ces savants la recherche se fermait, en quelque sorte, sur elle-même, ne dépassant pas le rang de haute curiosité ou de recueil de matériaux. C'est à l'éducation classique et aux yeux accoutumés à l'analyse formelle d'un archéologue de stricte observance et de curiosité infinie, à Michałowski, que l'on doit que cet art de périphérie byzantine ait pris une personnalité qui n'est pas seulement documentaire et qu'elle se constitue comme une réalité historique autonome, avec un intérêt primordial d'histoire de l'art tout court. Les recherches philologiques, typologiques, chronologiques à son sujet en ont, de ce fait, pris un nouvel essor et une nouvelle signification. C'est là un des cas les plus frappants de ce que peut donner un entrecroisement d'expériences culturelles dans la compréhension des faits historiques.

Bien conscient de ces faits, nous avons tâché de faire le raccord entre nos peintures et celles de Faras, non pour un jeu typologique, mais pour les placer dans un horizon culturel de signification complexe. Nous avons trouvé des peintures plus anciennes, où les peintres avaient

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, Roma 1938, p. 141 (dans un graffito du Spéos d'Harmais non loin de notre centre).

une aisance de touche et une liberté de mouvement qui faisaient une opposition très marquée à la raideur, au dessin minutieusement décoratif, à la polychromie criarde d'autres œuvres certainement plus tardives que la plus grande partie de celles de Faras. Ce qui est à souligner, en tout cas, est que (si l'on compare cet ensemble de peintures à celles que, par exemple, nous avons trouvées nous-mêmes dans l'église de Sonqi en Nubie Soudanaise)<sup>(1)</sup> celles de Tamit témoignent d'un milieu beaucoup moins lié au goût de la capitale, avec des traditions qu'on ne saurait certainement pas dire locales, mais autonomes. Il est dommage que de ces trésors culturels seulement une partie ait pu être sauvée.

C'est aussi ce que l'on pourrait dire, en général, de tout le travail de sauvetage en Nubie : partout on s'est attaché à l'œuvre avec une fièvre d'enthousiasme qui, tout de même, n'a pu épuiser dans aucun cas les travaux qu'on aurait dû faire, qui sont, par leur nature, sans limites, du fait même que chaque étape du développement culturel pose des problèmes dont la formulation même est nouvelle et insoupçonnée aux devanciers, ce qui est particulièrement vrai pour l'archéologie.

Nous avons fait ce qui était dans nos possibilités, et nous croyons que notre contribution n'est pas sans avoir sa signification et sa valeur.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Sur Sonqi on peut voir pour le moment : S. DONADONI e S. CURTO, *Le pitture murali della chiesa di Sonki nel Sudan. La Nubia Cristiana*, (Quaderno N. 2 del Museo Egizio di Torino) Torino 1968 ; S. DONADONI e G. VANTINI, «Gli scavi nel diff di Sonqi Tino (Nubia Sudanese)», in *Atti Pont. Ac. Rom. Arch.*, Vol. XL (1967-68) p. 247 sqq. ; S. DONADONI, «Les Fouilles à l'Eglise de Sonqi Tino», in *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in Christlicher Zeit*, Recklinghausen 1970, p. 209 sqq.

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- E. BRESCIANI, «Graffiti da Qubân» (à paraître dans le *Bull. du C. de Doc.*).
- S. DONADONI, «Una Iscrizione di Thutmose III da Qubân» (à paraître dans le *Bull. du C. de Doc.*).

#### Tamit

- S. DONADONI, «Campagna di scavo dell'Università di Roma a Tamit», in *Or. Ant.* IV (1965) p. 127 sq.

- J. LECLANT, in *Or.* 34 (1965) p. 200 sq.
- Missione Archeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Roma, Tamit (1964) Roma 1967.

#### C.R. :

- Ann. Ist. Or. Napoli*, N.S. XVIII (1968) p. 473.
- BiOr*
- CdE*, XLIV, N° 88 (1969) p. 392 sq.
- RE*, XXI (1969) p. 183 sqq.
- OLZ*, LXV (1970) Nr. 9/10, p. 462.

#### Chronique des Fouilles

- 1958 — Mission de l'Université de Milan à Ikhmindî.  
Membres : Donadoni, Stenico, arch. Crespi, rayys Aly Sharaif.  
Attaché du «Service des Antiquités» Insp. Sami Farag.  
Fouille effective : seconde moitié de Septembre.
- 1959 — Mission de l'Université de Milan à Maharraqa.  
Membres : Donadoni, Stenico, Bosticco, arch. Calandra, rayys Aly Sharaif.  
Attaché du «Service des Antiquités» Insp. Sami Farag.  
Fouille effective du 15 Sept. au 4 Oct.
- 1960 — Mission de l'Université de Milan avec le concours du Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente Antico à Sabagura.  
Membres : Donadoni, Stenico, Bosticco, Bresciani, Roveri, Torelli arch. Pompei, rayys Aly Sharaif.  
Attaché du «Service des Antiquités» Insp. Sami Farag.  
Fouille effective du 16 sept. au 9 oct.
- 1961 — Mission de l'Université de Milan à Qubân.  
Membres : Donadoni, Bosticco, Roveri, arch. Calandra, rayys Aly Sharaif.  
Attaché du «Service des Antiquités» Insp. Gamal Abd el-Hadi.  
Fouille effective du 6 au 30 Sept.
- 1963 — Mission de l'Université de Milan à Qubân.  
Membres : Donadoni, Bosticco, Bresciani, Roveri.  
Attaché du «Service des Antiquités» Insp. Ahmed Nashati.  
Fouille effective du 16 Sept. au 2 Oct.

1964 — Mission de l'Université de Rome à Tamit.  
Membres : Donadoni, Bosticco, Bresciani, Roveri, Baldassarre,  
arch. Fanfoni, rayys Aly Sharaif.  
Attaché du « Service de Antiquités » Insp. Gamal Baqi.  
Fouille effective du 26 août au 16 Sept.

SAUNERON, Serge

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE  
ORIENTALE, LE CAIRE (1964-1965)

## VILLAGE DU GROUPE C À OUADI ES-SEBOU'

L'IFAO a mené en Nubie 5 campagnes, entre 1961 et 1965 ; des trois premières, qui ont porté sur le temple de Ouadi es-Sebou' et ses abords, je ne dirai rien ici ; Fr. Daumas, qui a partagé avec moi la conduite des deux premières, et Gerhard Haeny, qui a mené la troisième avec J.L. de Cénival, en rendent compte séparément. Il ne sera donc question que de la quatrième et de la dernière, que j'ai menée personnellement, avec la collaboration de J. Jarry, puis en 1965 de J. Jacquet.

Au-delà de l'étude de la rive Ouest de Ouadi es-Sebou', objet des 3 premières campagnes, le service des antiquités nous avait en effet demandé d'explorer, sur les deux rives, la zone qui séparait la concession autrichienne, voisine de Médiq, au nord, de la concession tchécoslovaque, commençant à trois km. au sud d'es-Sebou'.

Cette exploration a conduit mes collègues et moi-même aux découvertes habituelles dans ce genre de domaine archéologique : abris sous roches, graffiti, restes de villages du groupe C, tombes, églises, installations humaines médiévales. Ce furent, en général, des restes très modestes. Une fois la date de chaque site reconnue, et sa place marquée sur la carte, l'essentiel de ce qu'on peut attendre de ce genre de trouvaille est fait. Exception devrait peut-être être faite pour le site de Cheima Amalika, où se voient les restes de deux bâtisses sans doute chrétiennes ; mais une réunion comme celle d'aujourd'hui n'est pas faite pour entrer dans le détail des petites trouvailles ; tout cela a été décrit dans nos rapports<sup>(1)</sup>, et je pense qu'il faut s'en tenir à l'essentiel.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Serge SAUNERON, « Fouilles de l'IFAO en Nubie, 4<sup>e</sup> Campagne (avril-mai 1964), seconde partie, secteur Naga' al-Oqba-Ouady es-Sebou' », dans *Fouilles en Nubie* (Service des Antiquités), 1961-1963, 1967, p. 157-168 et pl. I-VII. Noter que cette dernière planche est inversée. — J. Jarry « Inscriptions grecques et coptes de Nubie (1964-1965) », *BIFAO* 66, 1968, p. 143-146 et pl. XVI-XXII.

Un aspect de notre recherche doit cependant être déjà dégagé. Au moment où notre « survey » a été réalisé, le Nil était déjà haut, et avait recouvert la totalité de la vallée ; les eaux montaient à l'assaut des falaises. Toute la zone d'occupation humaine normale était donc déjà perdue. Ce que nous avons retrouvé dans le désert et sur les falaises constituait donc, *déjà pour les Nubiens anciens, un arrière pays*. C'est le lieu normal où l'on place des tombes ; mais il est moins normal d'y isoler des villages, loin de l'eau du Nil. C'est ce qui explique que les seules installations que nous y ayons retrouvées aient correspondu à des époques où les villages *devraient se fortifier*, et cherchaient donc à s'établir sur des hauteurs ; époque du groupe C, correspondant à la 2<sup>e</sup> période intermédiaire où plusieurs villages ont été réperés, placés sur des éperons, ou sur des promontoires avançant au-dessus de la vallée (maintenant au-dessus du Nil) <sup>(1)</sup>. Et, curieusement aussi, villages chrétiens très tardifs ; la poterie rouge grossière que nous avons trouvée assez souvent, ça et là, nous place en effet dans des périodes allant du 12<sup>e</sup> au 15<sup>e</sup> siècle <sup>(2)</sup>.

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La trouvaille pourtant la plus intéressante pour notre Institut pendant les années 1964 et 1965 a été, presque en face du temple de Ouadi es-Sebou<sup>c</sup>, celle d'un village fortifié datant de la seconde période intermédiaire, et qui fut habité par les gens du groupe C <sup>(3)</sup>.

En voici l'image :

Cette image qui apparaît maintenant claire, et qui suggère déjà à l'examen des conclusions immédiates, est le résultat d'un très intense

<sup>(1)</sup> J. JARRY, « Compléments sur les installations du groupe C dans le même secteur », *BIFAO* 67, 1969, p. 229-232, pl. LXIV-LXVII.

<sup>(2)</sup> J. JARRY, « Les déserts de Sebou'a Est », *BIFAO* 67, 1969, p. 189-304 et pl. XLIV-LXIII, plans 1-16. Datation d'après W. ADAMS, « Publication des poteries d'époques pharaonique, romaine et chrétienne », dans *BIFAO* 67, 1969, p. 213-227.

<sup>(3)</sup> Serge SAUNERON, « Un village nubien fortifié sur la rive orientale de Ouadi es-Sebou<sup>c</sup> », *BIFAO* 63, 1965, pl. 162-167 et pl. 13-20.

et très minutieux travail de sauvetage. Quand le village nous est apparu, il ne montrait aucun plan lisible, si ce n'est celui de sa muraille ; l'intérieur était envahi de pierres tombées en tous sens, de sable entassé là où le vent avait rencontré un obstacle ; tout semblait chaotique. On pouvait dire, assez vite, qu'il s'agissait d'un village, qu'il avait été fortifié ; et la poterie qui apparaissait dès qu'on retournait un peu le sable attestait qu'il s'agissait du groupe C. Mais il aurait été dommage de s'arrêter à ces conclusions sommaires.

Mon camarade J. Jacquet et moi-même nous sommes alors livrés à un difficile travail de patience, pour dissocier ce qui était ancien mur de ce qui était pierres effondrées, et parvenir déjà à distinguer, dans ce fouillis, la structure générale des maisons et des rues — c'est-à-dire des espaces vides. L'espace ayant été ainsi individualisé, et des jalons posés partout, j'ai entrepris de décaper chaque enclos, couche par couche, enlevant d'abord le sable apporté par le vent ; puis tamisant soigneusement la couche où sable et cendres se mêlaient ; cela jusqu'au rocher sous-jacent ; les outils, les os, les fragments de bois, les coquillages, sortant de ce tamisage, furent aussitôt classés dans des boîtes portant le numéro de l'enclos d'où ils provenaient ; présent à chaque moment de cette opération, j'ai noté au fur et à mesure, sur mon carnet de fouilles, l'apparition de chaque détail intéressant, le changement de teinte du sable annonçant un foyer, la position de chaque morceau d'argile calcinée montrant l'endroit où le toit s'était effondré.

Ce repérage très rigoureux, si fastidieux a-t-il pu paraître pendant la fouille, a ensuite permis, au Caire, de comprendre de très nombreux détails, qui auraient été autrement perdus sans rémission. Même ce qui semblait simple caillou accidentellement présent a été recueilli et situé ; c'est ce qui a permis, ensuite, de comprendre qu'un site pré-historique était recouvert par le village nubien du groupe C. Ce site était, en quelque sorte, dans la remise en place des trouvailles, apparu en transparence ; les pierres qui le composaient, groupées en cercle, dépassant cependant hors des murs qui auraient dû normalement leur servir de limites...

Voyons ce plan : c'est une installation de 50 m. environ, du Nord au Sud et d'une quarantaine de m. de l'Est à l'Ouest. Autour, en

demi-cercle, une enceinte de pierres sèches, s'élevant encore par endroits jusqu'à 2 m de hauteur. Trois portes ; une au nord, une au sud, d'entrée indirecte ; une à l'Est enfin, solidement fortifiée par une poterne, et pourvue d'une hutte de veilleur. Ces portes étaient fermées ; les linteaux sont encore en place, ou sont tombés à proximité ; des crapaudines, sur le sol, montrent où était l'axe d'une porte. Dans le mur, sur toute la partie regardant vers l'intérieur des terres, des meurtrières, au nombre d'une trentaine : fenêtres hautes et très étroites, permettant de lancer des flèches à l'extérieur ; par leur répartition, elles couvrent tout l'espace environnant ; leur nombre plus grand, sur le tronçon N-E., correspond à une zone où un assaut pouvait être redouté, plus qu'ailleurs, une dépression du plateau permettant d'y parvenir, à partir d'un petit *khor* voisin, sans être aperçu des veilleurs.

Dans cette enceinte s'entassaient un nombre important de maisons, faites couramment de plusieurs chambres se commandant l'une l'autre, et auxquelles était parfois adjointe une petite cour à ciel ouvert. Ces maisons étaient faites d'un mur bas de pierres jointives, amalgamées avec de la boue ; au-dessus, un mur de terre le prolongeait vers le haut, et portait un toit de chaume reposant sur des branches de tamaris. Ces toitures ont brûlé ; mais nous avons recueilli leurs cendres distinctes de celles de foyers dans le sable de chaque enclos ; l'examen de ces fragments de bois a permis de comprendre comment ces huttes étaient couvertes ; des trous ronds dans l'argile battue du sol montrent aussi qu'il avait parfois un poteau soutenant le toit ; des foyers ont été retrouvés ici et là.

A l'ouest, le village s'arrêtait au bord d'une falaise abrupte, où l'escalade était pratiquement impossible ; là se trouvaient néanmoins des abris en demi-cercle probablement pour des guetteurs.

Des habitants, nous apprenons beaucoup de chose par l'étude attentive du mobilier retrouvé sur place. Entendons-nous : exposé pendant plus de 36 siècles aux vents de la falaise, visité et revisité mille fois par des passants, vidé déjà de tout ce qui était utilisable par ses propres habitants lorsque le village fut déserté, il n'y avait pas d'espoir, dans les 30 ou 40 cm de sable et de terre pulvérulente qui subsistaient au-dessus du roc de retrouver des trésors miraculeux. Mais comme ce

village était menacé de totale disparition sous les eaux, j'ai pris un parti extrême qui a consisté à ne rien trier sur place, et à ne rien sacrifier. L'aire entière du site a été retournée et tamisée, et la totalité de ce qu'a rendu ce travail, pierres, éclats de quartz, quartzite, coquilles, os, fragments de cendre et de bois, tessons, etc., a été rapporté au Caire.

C'est là seulement que l'étude attentive de ce matériel a été menée, par moi-même pour une part, mais surtout pour tout l'outillage lithique et les ossements, par M.F. Debono. Et c'est de cet examen, longuement prolongé qu'est sortie l'image que nous pouvons maintenant nous faire des habitants ; j'insiste d'autant plus volontiers sur la difficulté et le mérite de cette étude terminale qu'elle n'a pas été menée par moi-même, mais surtout par M. Debono. Au premier abord un préhistorien français qui revenait d'Éthiopie, et auquel j'avais montré ce butin, m'a dit : « Voilà de beaux cailloux ; mais où sont les outils ? » Le quartzite ne se travaille certes pas comme le silex. Ces cailloux *étaient* les outils. Mais seuls une longue étude, une longue accoutumance nous ont permis de le comprendre ; silex et quartz ont servi à l'outillage de petite taille, par exemple les perçoirs ; mais la matière première la plus courante est le quartzite : on a retrouvé des couteaux à dos arqué, des haches polies de pierre, des affuteurs, des géodes remployées, des palettes, des meules, des percuteurs et broyeurs. La céramique a été très intéressante, encore que très fragmentée ; beaucoup de tessons réparés attestent la valeur relative de la poterie, pour ces anciens bergers ; beaucoup de tessons ont aussi servi ultérieurement à de nouveaux usages (grattoirs, polissoirs).

Les os d'animaux ont été utilisés eux aussi, phalanges fendues, vertèbres et arêtes de poissons, œufs d'autruche, carapace de tortue du Nil ; et même de petits crustacés et des coquillages du genre *unio* et *spatha*, utilisés comme bijoux. Dans quelques domaines, par ex., la céramique, l'étude n'est pas encore à son terme.

Comme il arrive souvent dans les installations du groupe C, nous avons retrouvé de petites figurines d'argile représentant des bœufs, sans doute jouets d'enfants. Et, dans une fente de rocher, une statue de grès représentant apparemment une dame, bien vilaine, même avec beaucoup d'indulgence, et qui pourrait peut-être avoir été une idole.

En revanche, une constatation que l'on peut faire déjà sur le plan, et que la fouille a rendue possible, naturellement, dès les premiers jours, c'est qu'il y a dans ce village deux étapes de constructions. Un chemin de ronde a d'abord permis de desservir le mur d'enceinte protecteur et ses meurtrières. Puis, les dangers du début s'étant estompés, cet espace vide a été peu à peu comblé par de nouvelles bâtisses sommaires, faites de gros galets ; la nature du sol a révélé que ces locaux secondaires avaient servi d'étables à du bétail et à des chèvres. Il semble donc qu'à une époque ultérieure de l'habitation du village, il n'y ait plus guère eu à se défendre des assaillants ; mais que par précaution, on ait cependant ramené les bestiaux, peut-être le soir, dans l'enceinte du village, au moins pour éviter les vols. A une même époque remontent sans doute les installations sommaires appuyées à l'extérieur des murs d'enceinte.

Puis la sécurité étant revenue, ou l'éloignement de l'eau du Nil se faisant cruellement ressentir, les habitants ont abandonné leur village, et ont gagné des secteurs plus hospitaliers.

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Une découverte intéressante, qui n'est pas apparue sur place pendant la fouille, mais que la stricte localisation de toutes nos trouvailles a ensuite rendue possible, est celle de 2 installations préhistoriques sous le village du groupe C. La couche archéologique n'est jamais très épaisse, dix, vingt, trente cm. par endroits ; le vent a tout enseveli, et dégagé tour à tour, et les passants ont bien souvent creusé pour trouver, dans ces déblais, quelque chose à glâner ; tout a donc été maintes fois déplacé ; des fragments du même percuteur éclaté ont été retrouvés en deux endroits très distants du village ; et une grande poterie rose portant des dessins d'oiseaux a été fragmentée en trente morceaux qui ont été recueillis en une bonne dizaine de points, tout au long du village. Rien n'est donc, de façon absolument sûre, en place. Il a cependant été possible de constater que quelques outils, dont la présence détonnait parmi les outils maladroits des gens du groupe C, ont été recueillis sous les maisons occupant approximativement le centre du village, et comme je l'ai dit, l'aire couverte par ces trouvailles anormales dessinait

une sorte de cercle sous les maisons, qui ne correspondait dans son tracé à aucune des limites du village. Là, il y a donc eu, quelques millénaires avant le village, *un site levalloisien*, avec éclats à plans de frappe, et *un site sébilien*, qui a fourni des burins, des grattoirs et des nucléus. Cette belle découverte a été amenée par la perspicacité de notre collaborateur M.F. Debono.

A côté des villages déjà connus d'Areaika ; de Ouadi el-'Arab et 'Aniba à côté de celui d'Amada, qui était en plaine, le village fortifié de Ouadi es-Sebou', dressé au bord de sa falaise, apporte donc un renouveau intéressant dans la connaissance de l'habitat des hommes du groupe C, à la seconde période intermédiaire ; le retrait égyptien entre Moyen et Nouvel Empire, ramena l'insécurité, donc la nécessité de se protéger et de se grouper. La situation privilégiée du village, et le soin avec lequel nous nous sommes efforcés de le fouiller, ont donc permis de retrouver un monument assez exceptionnel. C'est une image plus vivante de ces peuplades nubiennes anciennes qui, grâce à lui, va s'ébaucher peu à peu devant nos yeux.



TEMPLE DE OUADI ES-SEBOU<sup>e</sup>  
EXPLORATION DE SAYYÂLA À OUADI ES-SEBOU<sup>e</sup>

En 1959, durant l'été, nous avons été appelé par l'UNESCO, une fois encore, à travailler en Nubie pour mener à bien autant que possible l'exploration scientifique de cette région avant qu'elle ne disparaisse sous les eaux du Haut Barrage. Le Centre de Documentation égyptologique nous confia la révision des textes hiéroglyphiques et des relevés exécutés jadis au temple de Ouadi es-Sebou<sup>e</sup> <sup>(1)</sup>. Nous avons pu identifier ainsi les deux salles du trésor du Temple, mais surtout nous avons vite repéré que des travaux importants s'imposaient pour comprendre la disposition du sanctuaire et tenter de saisir un peu l'histoire de ce site intéressant à tant de points de vue. Aussi, lorsque tous les pays furent appelés à participer à la campagne de sauvegarde, avons-nous demandé la concession de Ouadi es-Sebou<sup>e</sup> ; elle nous fut accordée.

De mars 1960 à décembre 1961 nous avons pu mener en cette ville nubienne trois campagnes de fouilles.

Durant la première, en mars 1960 <sup>(2)</sup>, nous avons dégagé l'enceinte extérieure du temple, en briques crues ainsi que quelques constructions en même matériau, d'interprétation difficile. De part et d'autre au sud et au nord, il y avait une sorte d'abri sous roche d'époque prédynastique

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ces relevés, compléments et corrections au livre de Henri GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Ouadi es-Sebou<sup>e</sup>*, Le Caire 1912, 2 vol. in-4°, dans *Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie*, se trouvent au Centre de Documentation. Ils ont été complétés, surtout pour les textes historiques de la cour, par J. Černý. Ils n'ont pas encore été publiés à notre connaissance. Une convention écrite avait été passée entre le Centre de Documentation et l'Institut Français du Caire, pour procurer une nouvelle édition du temple d'après les très beaux relevés architecturaux de M. Minost et nos travaux sur les textes et bas-reliefs. Mais, par suite de notre absence en 1962 et 1963, aucune suite, pour le moment, n'a été donnée à ce projet.

<sup>(2)</sup> « Rapport sur les Fouilles exécutées à Ouadi es-Sebou<sup>e</sup> », *BIFAO* LX, 1960, t. LX, p. 185-187 et 3 pl. Collaboration de MM. Minost, Sauneron et Daumas.

et les animaux gravés sur la paroi rocheuse au nord suggèrent même que cet endroit a pu être un lieu de culte. A proximité, des carrières sont apparues, d'où l'on avait extrait les blocs du temple. Une stèle de Ramsès II, signalée autrefois par Weigall<sup>(1)</sup>, a été retrouvée et son linteau rapporté, tombé dans le sable, a été remis en place. Des statues de Sétaou, brisées, ont été extraites du pavage de l'église copte, aménagée dans la Salle hypostyle du temple. Enfin des tombes préhistoriques ont pu être fouillées dans un ouadi de l'ouest.

Nous avons bénéficié pendant notre seconde campagne de la collaboration de l'Institut Suisse de Recherches architecturales<sup>(2)</sup>. M. Gérard Haeny a d'abord fait de l'ensemble du site un relevé topographique qui nous faisait cruellement défaut. Il a ensuite fouillé un village ancien situé au sud du temple d'Aménophis III. Pendant ce temps nous dégagions le sommet de la falaise au sud du temple de Ramsès II et découvrons dans un ancien tombeau un dépôt de viandes, de volailles, d'œufs d'oie et de poteries, paraissant dater de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie ; c'était sans doute une offrande votive pour l'ouverture d'une carrière. Tout près, l'abri sous roche nous donnait un grand rocher à cupules. Enfin, nous avons trouvé, au fond du Khor de Sebou' est, des gravures rupestres de bovidés, originales et d'un type rare en Nubie<sup>(3)</sup>.

La troisième campagne fut menée également avec la collaboration de l'Institut Suisse en novembre et décembre 1961<sup>(4)</sup>. Cette fois, grâce

<sup>(1)</sup> WEIGALL, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Le Caire 1904, pl. XLVIII, 2. Voir dans les *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne*, t. X, *Nubie*, Le Caire 1967, p. 34, n. 33.

<sup>(2)</sup> « Rapport sur la deuxième campagne de Ouadi es-Sebou'a en 1961 », *BIFAO*, LXI, 1961, p. 175-178, et pl. VIII-X.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne*, t. X, *Nubie*, 1967, p. 44-45.

<sup>(4)</sup> J.-L. de CÉNIVAL et G. HAENY, « Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouille à Ouadi es-Sebou'a, novembre-décembre 1961 », *BIFAO* LXII, 1962, p. 219-229 et pl. XXXIII-XXXIV. L'ensemble de ces travaux a également paru par les soins du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte dans *Campagne internationale de l'UNESCO pour la sauvegarde des monuments de la Nubie, Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961)*, Le Caire 1963 : F. DAUMAS, « Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées à Ouadi es-Sebou'a en février 1961 », avec 3 planches, p. 39-49 et G. HAENY, « Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles à Ouadi es-Sebou'a », avec 4 planches, 53-62.

au niveau bas des eaux, M. de Cénival put attaquer l'exploration du dromos de Ramsès II. La découverte d'un réchaud en bronze vint le récompenser, mais la montée des eaux dans ce secteur empêcha d'achever cette partie pourtant importante du travail. Tandis que M. Gérard Haeny terminait l'étude architecturale du temple d'Aménophis III, M. de Cénival fouillait un village du groupe C un peu au nord du temple de Ramsès II.

Nous avons nourri le projet de demander à M. Paul Barguet de venir fouiller durant l'été, aux plus basses eaux, la partie antérieure du temple de Ramsès II, le village antique (jamais encore étudié) et les tombes égyptiennes et chrétiennes, qui se trouvent probablement au-dessous du niveau des eaux de l'ancien barrage. Malheureusement notre rappel en France en janvier 1962 interrompit pour deux ans nos activités qui furent reprises par le Service des Antiquités<sup>(1)</sup>. Mais les travaux se bornèrent au déblaiement intérieur du temple de Ramsès II et à la dépose des peintures coptes et des peintures pharaoniques du speos d'Aménophis III. De sorte que beaucoup d'interrogations subsistent sur l'histoire de ce site. Un village situé non loin de la stèle qui représente Ramsès II récompensant Sétaou (signalée plus haut) n'a pas été suffisamment étudié à notre connaissance<sup>(2)</sup>.

En 1964, le Service des Antiquités nous demanda d'opérer une exploration systématique de Sayyâla à Ouadi es-Sebou'. Dans une première partie de la campagne, MM. Boyaval, Garcin, Lenthéric et Daumas, en avril 1964, ont fouillé l'église de Nagâ el-'Oqba et son cimetière, près du Gebel Oum Simbel<sup>(3)</sup>. Comme la Nubie était à ce

<sup>(1)</sup> Chafik FARID, « Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Es-Sebu' (1963) », dans *Campagne Internationale... Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)*, Le Caire 1967, p. 61-75 et XIV planches.

<sup>(2)</sup> Nous avons essayé de résumer ce qui concerne l'ensemble du site dans : « Ce que l'on peut entrevoir de l'histoire de Ouadi es-Sebou'a en Nubie », in *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne*, t. X, *Nubie*, Le Caire 1967, p. 23-49 avec de nombreuses figures. Voir pour les villages que nous signalons ici les p. 27-28 de cette étude.

<sup>(3)</sup> « Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles exécutées par l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale entre Sayyâla et Ouadi es-Sebou'a en avril-mai 1964 », *BIFAO* LXIII, Le Caire 1965, p. 265-263 et pl. XXVIII-XL, ainsi que B. BOYAVAL,

moment tout à fait déserte et que nous n'utilisions que des photographies muettes, trompés par les identifications fantaisistes de notre équipage, nous avons fouillé par erreur durant la première journée sur la concession autrichienne. C'est ce qui explique que le Rapport de M. Boyaval mentionne l'église de Nagâ es-Séma. En réalité, à la demande de nos collègues autrichiens, nous avons convenu de leur remettre une note sur la fouille faite dans leur concession pour qu'ils la publient dans leur rapport<sup>(1)</sup>. Mais les pages de M. Boyaval, remises au Service des Antiquités en juin 1964, ont été publiées telles quelles par cet organisme.

L'église de Nagâ el-'Oqba présentait de très curieuses annexes architecturales que Monneret de Villard n'avait pas fouillées : une nef secondaire au nord et une sorte de narthex à l'ouest. Les peintures, si elles avaient été moins endommagées, eussent rivalisé avec les plus belles de Nubie. M. Lenthéric en a exécuté des relevés en couleur ; mais quelques-unes avaient déjà été déposées par les équipes de spécialistes. Le cimetière chrétien ne présentait pas de particularités qui méritent d'être signalées. Une petite stèle funéraire a été publiée à part, du fait de son intérêt<sup>(2)</sup>.

M. Sauneron expose de son côté les travaux très intéressants qu'il a lui-même exécutés avec M. Jarry durant la seconde partie de la campagne<sup>(3)</sup>.

Sans doute, les données nouvelles apportées par nos fouilles et celles de l'Institut Suisse ne bouleversent pas nos connaissances, mais elles précisent beaucoup de points. Nous devons toutefois observer qu'elles laissent subsister certaines lacunes dues à l'interruption brusque de

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« Rapport sur la première partie des fouilles exécutées à Naga' es-Séma et Naga' el-'Oqba », dans *Campagne internationale... Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)*, p. 27-33 et 3 pl.

<sup>(1)</sup> Si rien ne nous a échappé, il ne semble pas que cette partie de la publication autrichienne ait paru.

<sup>(2)</sup> F. DAUMAS, « Sur une stèle copte provenant de Naga' el-'Oqba » ; *BSAC* XVIII, 1965-66, p. 67-70 et 1 pl.

<sup>(3)</sup> S. SAUNERON, « Fouilles de l'IFAO en Nubie, 4<sup>e</sup> Campagne (avril-mai 1964), seconde partie, secteur Naga' el-'Oqba - Ouadi es-Sebou'a », dans *Campagne internationale... Fouilles en Nubie (1961-63)*, p. 157-168 avec 7 planches.

nos travaux : village antique au bord de l'ancien lit du fleuve ; cimetière pharaonique de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> dynasties et nécropole copte qui se trouvaient sans doute sous les eaux du premier barrage, entre l'ancien village et la falaise. Les derniers habitants de la petite agglomération nubienne de Sebou' Gharb nous ont affirmé avoir repéré dans ce secteur des puits antiques.

ARNOLD, Dieter  
GROSSMANN, Peter

GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,  
CAIRO

AMADA, TEMPLE OF KALÂBSHA,  
CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS, AND  
ROCK - INSCRIPTIONS

1) EXCAVATION IN AMADA.

During the years 1959 to 1961 Hanns Stock conducted three campaigns at Amada to examine various sites; he was assisted by F. Debono, R. Herzog, F. Hintzen, Th. Kraus and M. Krause.

A survey of the temple's causeway was made down to the Nile, and, further downstream, north of the temple, a fairly large village of the Roman period, a small cemetery of the 18th dyn., and remains of a C-group settlement were discovered and studied. The finds, varying in quality and number, are all typical of their respective period. In one of the larger C-group houses four superimposed layers of occupation were revealed. All inscriptions and rock drawings of the area were recorded, in particular those inscribed on the well-known rock situated approximately 5 miles down-stream from the temple.

A large number of flint tools of the palaeolithic period could be collected.

A preliminary report on the outcome of the first campaign is included in «Fouilles en Nubie» (Cairo 1963) 99 ss. The final publication is in preparation.

2) THE TEMPLES OF KALÂBSHA.

On 26 January 1961 the Federal Republic of Germany advised by the German Nubian Committee under the chairmanship of K. Bittel declared itself ready to undertake the dismantling, transport and reconstruction of the Mandulis Temple of Kalâbsha. This was a project that involved the removal of 13.110 blocks weighing from 1 to 20 tons

to a new site lying near Aswan 38 km to the north, the cost of which amounted to 8 million marks.

The Hochtief AG Essen, was entrusted with the execution. Control over the archaeological aspects was under the supervision of the director of the German Archaeological Institute H. Stock in the hands of K.G. Siegler, H. Steckeweh and G.R.H. Wright. The dismantling of the temple began in September 1961 and was finished by 1 October 1962. On 30th October 1962 the foundation stone was laid at the new site on a granite plateau 184 m above sea-level about 15 km south of Aswan. Construction was completed in the record building time of exactly one year thanks to the activity of Hochtief' AG's fifteen technicians under W. Brehmer and E. Andorf and their 450 workers. The inauguration of the temple had to be postponed however till 4th March 1975. During the dismantling of the temple walls and an excavation of the temple foundations which was carried out in August 1963 by the German Archaeological Institute Cairo, about 240 older, re-used and decorated sandstone blocks were recovered and transported to Elephantine Island. One half belonged to a ptolemaic chapel and the other to a gateway attached to it. In recognition of its work in salvaging the great temple, the Egyptian Government has presented the gate to the Federal Republic, and it was re-erected in the Egyptian Museum of West Berlin. The oldest royal names on the portal are those of Ptolemy VI (Euergetes II) and his two queens Cleopatra (about 140-130 B.C.). Of the chapel belonging to it only about a quarter survives (120 blocks). This made it impossible to reconstruct the original building. All that could be done was a coordination of the blocks in such a way as to be somewhat comparable to the original. In the winter 1974-75 on the southern point of Elephantine Island a chapel-like building after the example of Dendur was erected and the relief blocks fitted into it.

Besides the names of king Ergamenes of Meroe, there also appears that of Ptolemy IX (Soter II) as well as that of the Roman Emperor Augustus.

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- G.R.H. Wright, *Kalabscha, The Preserving of the Temple* (Arch. Veröffentlichungen des DAI, Kairo 2, 1972).
- D. Arnold, *Die Tempel von Kalabscha* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut) 1975.

### 3) SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN NUBIA AND THE NORTHERN SUDAN.

In February/March 1964 F.W. Deichmann conducted an expedition to Nubia and the Northern Sudan. He was accompanied by E. Dinkler, O. Feld, P. Grossmann, R. Herzog, and Th. Kraus. The purpose of this expedition was to survey a number of Christian settlements and compare their present aspect with the existing publication for the necessity of corrections. The main places visited on this occasion were Sabagura, Ikhmindî, Ar-Ramal, Kaw, Tamit, Gindinarri, and two sites in Sudanese Nubia : Kulubnarti and Kulb.

In Ikhmindî, a site whose foundation dates back to the 6th century A.D., the expedition was successful in determining some earlier building structures within the dwelling quarters in the south part of the town. Also in the central church of Ikhmindî several periods were to be distinguished. The cemetery church at Ar-Ramal seems to have been in its earliest state a church with a single nave, having however two parallel narrow side chambers connected with the nave by one passage only. It thus corresponds to type «?O» of the typology of W.Y. Adams (JARCE 4, 1965, 101 ff, fig. 5). A similar case was recognized in the South Church of the «tre chiese contigue» at Tamit, where the spring of the barrel vaults covering once the two parallel side chambers was still visible on top of the inner walls. However the Italian mission working at this spot in September 1964 found another way of interpreting the same feature (Tamit (1964) 29 f.). Of the church at Kaw as well as of the two Sudanese churches at Kulubnarti and Kulb new top planes were measured. The domed church of Kulb turned out to be one example of the octagon-domed churches which is — with the exception of the examples at Aswân — known only in the middle byzantine

architecture of Greece. The final publications of all the results is in progress.

4) RECORDING AND SALVAGING OF INSCRIPTIONS AND ROCK DRAWINGS.

In July and August of 1965 H. Stock directed an expedition to Nubia, organized by the Department of Antiquities, to record, saw-out, and remove specimens of rock-inscriptions and rock-drawings.

The following notes are taken out of a report by H. Stock, presented at that time to the Department.

*Amada* : The big boulder covered mostly with hieroglyphic inscriptions but also with some rock-drawings (for instance, a rough representation of a camel-rider) has been the object of a special study of the expedition undertaken by the German Archaeological Institute in 1960 and 1961. To save some samples, the cartouche of King Intef Wah-anch (11. Dyn.) and several other cartouches (Sesostris II) and mortuary texts were cut out.

*Derr* : The big shrine made by Ramesses II. south of the temple of Derr was copied, in order to check the inscriptions and to deliver them to Mr. Labib Habachi who is studying the monument. Just a few metres south of it, in a rocky niche, they found a large number of different drawings and some short hieroglyphic remarks from the New Kingdom. As it seemed to be useless to cut all of the scenes, only some examples of boats, animals and inscriptions were taken, especially as it would have taken too much time to collect a bigger number. Samples of larger scenes were copied by drawing.

*Abu Handel (Nag' Kolofanda)* : The eastern border of a small khor, extending some hundred metres from the right bank of the river, had been visited by the Spanish Mission in 1964. H. Stock's group tried to collect as many samples of drawings as possible to show the variety of different styles, from early prehistory down to rather modern representations.

*Korosko* : Some examples from the famous rock-shelter have been copied.

*Wadi el-Arab till Wadi es-Sebu'* : A copy of a scene at Nag' Amilas showing a group of Antilopes was made. More representations of animals were taken off at Nag' Amilas and near the former station of Wadi el-Arab where rare pictures of two men, and of dancing women require further study and explanation. Also, a short hieroglyphic line was cut out there.

*Sayala* : Samples from rocks which were not yet flooded were collected.

*Gerf Hussein* : Due to the high level of the Nile only a few blocks could be taken from Gerf Hussein, just south of the temple and south of the fortress of Sabagura, opposite the temple on the eastern bank. About 400 metres south of the temple of Gerf Hussein on a large boulder a variety of scenes was discovered and copied.

5) SURVEY AND EXCAVATION IN BATN EL-HAGAR (NORTHERN SUDAN).

In January/February of 1967, E. Dinkler, accompanied by B. Diebner, P. Grossmann, R. Herzog and M. Krause went on a voyage of exploration to the Southern part of the Batn el-Hagar area. Two campaigns were to follow in 1968 and 1969 to survey and excavate certain areas on the islands of Sunnarti, Tangur, Turmuki, and Kulb. Participating members were : E. Dinkler, P. Grossmann, H. Schmidt, M. Sharabi and J. Zänker.

During these campaigns three new churches were discovered. Two of them correspond to type «IV» of the classification of Adams (*JARCE 4*, 1965, 116 ss, fig. 13). The first at Sunnarti which probably belongs to the community of the large fortress at the Northend of the same island contains an exceptionally deep haikal; the other at Tangur is younger and represents the later development of the same type when the western rooms were abandoned. The third church was cleared in the wadi west of Kulubnarti.

On the island of Turmuki, there are two constructions which have been considered up to these days as watchtowers. After clearing them

it was found out that they are a kind of fortified dwelling houses, which for defense reasons had their entrance high above the ground. Consequently it may be presumed that most of similar constructions have also to be considered as such.

When examining the fortress of Kulb during the first campaign in 1968 the enclosure wall was cleared and mapped, including the eastern gate and parts of the interior buildings. Evidence was found that the fortress had been continuously inhabited during a considerably long period of time and probably preceded the settlement of Kulubnarti. During the second campaign the entire area within the enclosure walls was cleared.

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EMERY, Walter

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY, LONDON

## BUHEN, KOR, THE NUBIAN SURVEY, IBRIM

The British effort in response to the UNESCO appeal for archaeological research in Nubia was placed under the direction of the Egypt Exploration Society, who were already engaged in excavation in the threatened areas. Assisted financially by the British Government, the Society undertook and completed five distinct projects in both Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia from 1957 to 1968. These were :

1. The Fortress of Buhen.
2. The Fortified Town of Kor.
3. The Nubian Survey.
4. The Necropolis of Ibrim.
5. The Fortress of Ibrim.

### BUHEN.

The ancient Egyptian fortress-town of Buhen was situated on the west bank of the Nile opposite Wadi-Halfa. Part of the gigantic ruins and the surrounding cemeteries had been excavated by D. Randall-MacIver and C.L. Woolley in 1909-10 for the University of Pennsylvania, but this work was only done on a small scale and the major part of the site was left untouched. In view of the future destruction of all ancient remains in Nubia, the Egypt Exploration Society decided that at least one of the chain of forts, built by Amenemhât I and Sesostri I (1991-1928 B.C.) to protect the newly-won territory in the south, should be completely excavated and recorded. In consequence of this decision, the detailed exploration of this immense site was started in October 1957 and was finally completed in 1964. There would appear to be little doubt that, throughout the Middle Kingdom, Buhen was the military headquarters of the chain of forts between the second and third cataracts. With the Hyksos invasion in the north, Egyptian domination in Nubia weakened and there is evidence from the excavations that the fortress was stormed and sacked by the Kushites, lying a ruin for many

years until the reconquest of the south by Ahmose I (1570 B.C.). The town and fortress was restored and became a vice-regal seat and principal trading post at the head of the second cataract until the final collapse of Egyptian power in Nubia at the close of the Twentieth Dynasty. During this long period of its existence many changes and much rebuilding took place, but exhaustive research has enabled us to distinguish with comparative certainty between the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom occupations.

The mud-brick fortress town built by Sesostris I was protected by a double series of fortifications, consisting of an outer perimeter covering a total distance of more than a mile which, at a short distance out into the desert, surrounded the inner and main defences of the town. In their original form these outer fortifications were of a fairly simple type, consisting of a dry ditch in front of a light wall broken at intervals by large round bastions. It would appear probable that this was a temporary construction to afford protection to the settlement while the town and inner fortifications were built. At a later date, possibly during the reign of Sesostris III, the walls and bastions were levelled and replaced on the same line by a massive wall seven metres thick with a height of not less than fifteen metres. The wall had many indents and salients with square projecting towers at intervals. On the north and south sides of this perimeter we found remains of what would appear to have drawbridge gates, but the main entrance faced the desert on the west. It occupied a large salient of its own and was surrounded by the ditch on three sides. The ditch, which was bridged by a rock-cut causeway, led direct to a vast rectangular barbican with square bastions on its exterior and a series of baffle courts and a gate inside. It is interesting to note that, from this great structure, we traced for more than six kilometres a wide road leading westward into the desert.

The inner fortification was more elaborate in design than those on the perimeter. Rectangular in plan, with its longest side on the river bank, it had long spur walls on each side of the town block which connected it with the outer fortifications. The main wall was five metres thick, with projecting square towers spaced at regular intervals. The wall stood over fifteen metres in height and there was evidence that it must

have been surmounted by a breastwork, parapet and walkway similar in design to that of the Medinet Habu gate. At the corners were much larger projecting towers which were matched by the flanking towers of the gateways, one in the middle of the west wall facing the barbican of the outer defences, and two on the east of river front. Along the whole outer face of the walls were smaller projecting towers with space on the top for two defending archers and, at the foot of the wall was a rampart consisting of a defence wall two metres high with an elaborate system of triple loopholes which would enable defending archers to deliver a cross-fire into a dry ditch which surrounded the whole line of fortifications on the north, south and west sides. From the lower rampart, round loop-holed bastions projected into the ditch at intervals. The main west gate to the inner fort was protected by great twin towers spanning the ditch; access was obtained by a wooden drawbridge which could be pulled in to the fort on wooden rollers, the remains of which were found embedded in the sides of the ditch. The gate had a central baffle, in which attackers could be put under fire from the towers above, while direct entry into the town was prevented by a blank wall forcing intruders to turn north or south immediately under the main defences, from which they would again come under fire from archers and slingers. The street plan of the town was very military and symmetrical. Two main thoroughfares ran from the west wall down to the river gates, trisecting the town, while cross-streets ran at right angles at convenient intervals. Stone terraces running the whole length of the river front, protected at north and south by special outworks, provided wharves for shipping and opposite the two gates were stone quays which projected into the river for a considerable distance. The northernmost quay had an underground passage to which access was obtained by a stairway inside the town. At high Nile, the water would fill this passage and thus insure a water supply when the town was under siege. It is interesting to note that exhaustive excavation within the town area revealed no trace of cisterns for water storage, so we can only conclude that this water gate within the north quay gave an effective supply. The Commandant's headquarters, which was situated in the north-west corner of the fortress, consisted of guard-house, private stairway to the top



of the fortification, porticoed court, columned audience hall, living quarters, etc. . . An inner stairway led either to a flat roof or perhaps an upper storey. Adjoining this elaborate building was a large structure with five columned halls, which may well have been a barracks. Nearer the river was the first temple of Horus of Buhen orientated local north-south with its office and living quarters for the priesthood adjacent to it.

At the west end of the town were the spacious houses of the chief officials of the fortress, originally decorated with gay paintings and arranged back to back with their front entrances on the lateral streets. Other buildings within the town were storehouses, workshops, etc., all arranged on an orderly plan, block by block.

Evidence of fire on many of the buildings and on parts of the fortifications mark the destruction of Buhen by the Kushites at the end of the Middle Kingdom. Radical changes in the plan and structure of the fortress took place when it was reoccupied by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom. To distinguish between the two periods was difficult because there was little undisturbed stratification. However, differences in brick sizes and the design and quality of pottery greatly aided in solving this problem and it has been possible to make satisfactory plans of both periods.

With the re-conquest of Nubia, Ahmose I appointed Ahmosi Turi as commandant of Buhen and it was presumably he who built the north temple of Horus of Buhen outside the inner fortifications, which he restored and radically altered in design. Little remained of what must have been a limited occupation by the Kushites during the Second Intermediate period and no attempt was made by them to restore any part of the ruined town and fortifications. The dry ditch soon became filled with sand and the lower ramparts covered with an accumulation of debris from the partly destroyed main walls of the fortress. The main reconstruction of the fortifications consisted of the building of a road over the Middle Kingdom ramparts and ditch and the strengthening of the main wall with an outer-skin wall. This skin wall rested on the fallen debris at the foot of the original facade and it was under this debris, which lay nearly a metre deep on the Middle Kingdom rampart, that excavation revealed the skeleton of a horse. The stratification made

it clear that the animal must have been placed there some considerable time before the fort was stormed and taken by the Kushites at the end of the Middle Kingdom. It is thus the earliest horse yet recorded in the Nile Valley. In the town, houses were rebuilt largely on their original foundations and the general road plan was preserved.

With the extension of the Egyptian Empire as far south as the Fourth Cataract, Buhen lost much of its importance as a military stronghold, but it continued as a trading and administrative centre. Over the ruined Middle Kingdom temple of Horus, Queen Hatshepsut built a new limestone temple, embellished with very fine painted reliefs, which the Egypt Exploration Society dismantled and packed in 1963-64 as part of its contribution to the UNESCO campaign. It has now been re-erected in the ground of the new museum in Khartoum. Hatshepsut, or her successor Tuthmosis III, built a third stone quay in front of the temple entrance which would appear to have had brick pylons flanking the gate. These pylons were cut and shaped from the original fortification facing the river.

It took six long seasons to complete the detailed excavation of Fortress Buhen and, although the number of objects discovered was limited, the yield in information on Egyptian military architecture, of which so little was previously known, was ample reward for one of the largest excavations ever undertaken by the Egypt Exploration Society.

Another discovery adjacent to the fortress of Buhen was of considerable historical importance. In an area on the river bank, a short distance to the north of the fortress, excavation revealed the remains of an earlier Egyptian frontier settlement apparently devoted to the smelting of copper and certainly occupied by Egyptians during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties; possibly even earlier. Mud sealings from papyrus rolls and leather bags bearing the official seals, Snefru, Khufu, Khephren and Mycerinus, and their successors, Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare, Neuserre and Isesi were recovered from brick and rough stone houses and from a large structure devoted to the processing of copper ore, of which there were considerable quantities spread over the site. There were also closed furnaces for smelting and with them were parts of crucibles, smelted metal and pounding stones and mortars for breaking



up the ore. The whole settlement, which was protected by a rough stone defence wall, had been predominantly occupied by Egyptians for, although there was a limited amount of Nubian pottery, more than 95 per cent was imported «Maidum bowl» ware. It is puzzling to know that no source of copper was known in the Buhen area and the only large deposits lie considerably to the south. Following this discovery the Sudan Government Department of Mines sent a small expedition who explored the whole area in an effort to discover the source of the metal, but with no success.

#### THE FORTIFIED TOWN OF KOR

This fortified town site, three miles south of Buhen on the west bank of the Nile, lay within the concession granted to the Egypt Exploration Society by the Sudanese Government in 1957. The town itself had been partly excavated by Professor Vercoutter in 1954, who had cleared an important central area and had tested parts of the fortifications.

The fortifications of Kor enclose a long, narrow area along the bank of the Nile, over 1,000 m. in length. The site was probably chosen in antiquity because of a small creek forming a natural harbour for small boats, and because it had good communications with the parent fort of Buhen. Its fortifications are of a completely different character from those of Buhen; they consisted of three lines of rough freestone walling, none more than 3.10 m. thick, and probably no more than 4 m. high, interspersed with round bastions at intervals to secure cross fire. There was no ditch or great wall and it seems clear that Kor's function was ancillary to that of Buhen, to which the occupants could flee in time of trouble. Probably its main functions were the administration of the convoy of troops and baggage animals round the Second Cataract bearing the precious trade goods from the south, the policing of the waters at the lower end of the Second Cataract, and the provision of a secondary residence and camp when royal or vicerojal expeditions were lodged at Buhen.

The Society's main work was the completion of the planning of the fortifications and the stratigraphical testing of unexcavated areas in the

town. These resulted in an improved understanding of the history of this difficult site, which was in many places denuded down to the last brick and had been exhaustively plundered in recent times. Founded probably by Sesostris I (1971-1928 B.C.), it was extended by Sesostris III in 1860 B.C. like the other Nubian forts. In the Second Intermediate Period, it seems to have been overrun at least twice by the Kushite armies and restored by the Egyptians before finally yielding to the ruler of Kush presumably at the same time as Buhen. On Ahmose I's reconquest of Nubia after 1570, the site became a more or less open town with a new residence outside the walls. It seems to have been abandoned in late New Kingdom times.

Combined with the work at Kor, the recording of the hieratic rock inscriptions in the whole Buhen concession was carried out.

#### THE NUBIAN SURVEY, 1960-61

At the beginning of the UNESCO campaign to safeguard the archaeological monuments of Egyptian Nubia in 1960, the first necessity was to mount an archaeological survey of the area to locate and report on sites, and to recommend whatever work was necessary. The Egypt Exploration Society undertook the work for the U.A.R. Government. In view of the urgency of completing the survey to allow the Department of Antiquities to interest foreign missions in the major sites discovered, two seasons were undertaken in 1961; from January to April and from October to December.

The Survey was responsible only for historic, not for prehistoric, sites; rock-drawings and rock-inscriptions were scheduled for separate survey. Major known sites, excavation of which had been undertaken by contributors to the international campaign, were also naturally excepted. Nevertheless, this left an area of the Nile Valley nearly 200 miles in length to be surveyed, between river levels at 130 metres and 180 metres. The width of the area varied greatly from place to place according to the extent of the flood plain and the slope of the desert. The natural configuration of Lower Nubia, with deep valleys, steep cliffs and great sand dunes cutting the arid desert plateau, made motor transport

impracticable, quite apart from questions of supply and service. The survey, therefore, operated from a houseboat on the Nile, generously loaned, together with many other essential facilities, by the U.A.R. Department of Antiquities. Like its predecessors, it traversed the area on foot in extended order, covering at the very least 2,000 miles over the four-and-a-half month's work. This method of work had the advantage that the ground was examined in detail, and trial trenches were made at every suspected site. Where the existence of an ancient site was confirmed, work was put in hand to ascertain the extent, nature, date and value of the site. This work might occupy a few hours or several days according to circumstances, for sites too small or too plundered to be worth the expense of a separate mission had to be excavated and recorded as far as was practicable by the survey. In view of the speed at which the survey moved, all recording, mapping and photographic work had to be completed on the day on which the excavation was finished. This often meant very long hours of work in high temperatures.

As a result of the Survey's work, seventy cemeteries and twenty settlement sites were recorded; most of these, it is true, were heavily plundered, but they help to complete the settlement record of the area. Four major sites, at Qasr el-Wizz, Abdallah Nirgi, Afyeh and Khor Fum el-Atmûr were recommended for archaeological investigation by full-scale expeditions in the Survey's reports. These sites were subsequently excavated by expeditions from America, Holland, India and for the Documentation Centre by an international team.

#### THE NECROPOLIS OF IBRIM 1961-62

In Egyptian Nubia the Egypt Exploration Society was given the concession of the fortress and necropolis of Qasr Ibrim. This site, so important with regard to the problem of the X Group, had suffered considerably from both ancient and modern plundering. Nevertheless, exhaustive exploration yielded unexpected results although the identification of the X Group with either Blemmyes or Nobatae still remains uncertain.

The history of Ibrim, the ancient Primis, covers a long period, from 23 B.C. when Gaius Petronius, Roman Prefect of Egypt, captured it in his struggle with Kandake, Queen of Meroe, until the expulsion of the Mamelukes by Ibrahim Pasha in 1812. During that time it was occupied in turn by Meroites, Romans, Blemmyes, Nobatae, Christian Nubians, Egyptians, Bosnians and Mamelukes. Though the necropolis of Ibrim contained graves of all these periods, those of the Christian and Muslim periods, which were of well-known types and contained no grave goods, provided little information and none were excavated. Three Meroitic cemeteries belonging to the first two centuries A.D. were discovered. They had been badly plundered, but surface finds included inscribed offering tables, two large stelae in the Meroitic cursive script and fragments of Ba-statues.

The main work of excavation was concentrated on vast cemeteries of tumulus burials of the X Group dated from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. More than three hundred of these graves were examined and their common identity with the royal tombs found in 1931-33 at Ballana and Qustol was firmly established. Even the largest of them did not, of course, compare in size or in the richness of their contents with those at Ballana, but they amply repaid detailed excavation. Although they had been systematically plundered, in comparatively recent times large quantities of the elaborately decorated pottery of the X Group people were recovered. At two of the largest tombs in the northern necropolis, the plunderers had failed to realise that the vaulted brick substructures had a second chamber for the storage of funerary furniture; — the burial chambers were ransacked, but the magazines beside them were found intact. From them came bronze lamps and vessels of elaborate Byzantine design, the remains of wooden caskets with ivory inlays, glass and faience vessels of Roman type, toilet implements of ivory and bronze, etc. . . The more important of these antiquities now enrich the Nubian Collection in the Cairo Museum.

#### THE FORTRESS OF IBRIM

The massive bluff of sandstone, upon the top of which stand the extensive remains of the Fortress of Ibrim, rose high above the Nile.

Measurements made in January 1964 established that the highest point towered 66 metres above the level of the river. In earlier times, before the construction of the first Aswan dam and its two subsequent heightenings, the distance from the river to the top was some 12 metres greater. The area enclosed by the walls of the fortress is about 18,000 sq. metres. Before the invention of gunpowder, Ibrim must have been one of the most difficult of fortified places to take by storm. Some of the surviving stone work on Ibrim may be the work of Petronius, the Roman Prefect of Egypt in 23-22 B.C., especially the uncompleted temple, the quay and the open courtyard on the west fortifications which were cleared by the Egypt Exploration Society's expedition of a five metre overlay of two separate Christian occupation periods and the stone houses of the Bosnians. A large Meroitic stela found in the floor of the great church is probably to be dated within a few years of the Roman occupation, for it bears the names of the ruling Queen Aminshachete and the prince Akinidad who was associated with her. The discovery in 1966 of a monumental lion bearing the name of the King Amani-Yeshbehe who reigned about 300 A.D. suggests that the fortress was still in the hands of the Meroites at the end of the fourth century. Later, when is not certain, the fortress was occupied by the so-called X Group people; in the sixth-century inscription of Silko, King of the Nobatae, set up in the temple of Kalabsha, Ibrim (Primis) is described as an important Blemmyan city. In addition to the extensive cemeteries of these successors to the Meroites, evidence of their occupation of the fortress has been provided by the discovery in 1964 of some of their houses containing characteristic X Group pottery. Some thirty metres to the east of the stone quay, on its east-west axis and on the same level of bedrock, the ruins of a building of palatial proportions were laid clear in 1969 from the overlying Bosnian houses. The walls, of solid polygonal masonry, are just on a metre thick and survive up to 3 metres in height. The buildings had been in use through two main occupation periods and the remains of several fine fretted stone windows, Meroitic in style, lay alongside the building; they were probably part of it in its initial occupation. One of them depicts a king or god bearing the scaled-down figure of an elephant

across his shoulders; in another example the man carries what appears to be a deer.

The great church, also cleared in 1963-64, was built entirely of sandstone blocks, some of which are of huge dimensions. It is probable that the greater part of this stone work came from an earlier pagan temple which once stood on the site. The church, which later was used as a mosque, is basilican in form, the nave being divided into five aisles by two arcades of stone arches and piers and two rows of granite columns, six in each row. When the church was finally cleared of accumulated debris, eleven of these red granite columns were found lying near their bases; the twelfth had remained standing on its base. At the east end are the considerable remains of a fine apse, flanked on each side by a room, one of which having served as a baptistery. Under the east end of the church two large crypts with vaulted roofing contain six rock-cut tombs. The church was entered from the west by three entrances and a massive tower, with internal stairway, stood at the south-west corner of the building. In the area to the immediate south of the great church, a small church of mud-brick with lower courses of roughly-shaped stones was cleared from the overlying Bosnian stone houses. It was surrounded by rock-cut and mud-brick tombs, from which has been recovered much material to illustrate the period of Nubian Christianity. A number of stelae of the bishops who reigned in Ibrim during the twelfth century has been found in the area and one of the four large tombs, cut into the rock escarpment to the south of the church tower, has yielded the plundered remains of a mass of manuscript fragments on parchment and paper written in Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian and Arabic. It is not surprising that many pieces written in old Nubian should have been found, for this was the language of the people. The Arabic fragments appear to be almost without exception letters written to the Eparch of Ibrim under his title, Lord of the Mountain. One of these letters can be dated from its contents to the early part of 1169 A.D. In 1964 the discovery was made of the burial of Bishop Timotheos under the entrance of the north crypt of the great church. With the bishop were buried two paper scrolls, one written in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic, the other in Arabic. These documents are Letters Testimonial

from the Patriarch Gabriel IV, to the people of Nubia informing them that he has consecrated for them a bishop in the place of their deceased bishop Athanasius. The scrolls, which are now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, give the exact date of Timotheos' consecration, 1372.

In 1528 the Ottoman Sultan Suliman the Magnificent despatched a company of 500 Bosnian mercenaries to Nubia to take over the fortress of Ibrim. It is possible that their entry into Nubia witnessed the end of the Nubian kingdom. Recent evidence from the Treasury Archives in Cairo has refuted the often repeated statement that the Bosnians who had been sent to Ibrim were forgotten and never recalled. The facts are that payment of their wages is noted over a number of years and the gradual decrease in their numbers from 500 men to 50 is recorded. Those who remained settled in Ibrim and inter-married with the local people. Unlike the Nubians who built in mud-brick, the Bosnians constructed their houses of rough stone, the walls of which still stand to considerable heights. The removal of these massive structures which cover the greater part of the fortress top has proved one of the most difficult tasks in the recent excavations.

During 1969, excavations were carried out in the southern sector of the fortress. Some 40 metres to the south of the quay and courtyard on the west fortifications, a change in the direction of the main wall leaves a short southward-facing stretch which was supported on its outer side by an immensely heavy buttress of stone masonry, semi-circular in plan. Over five metres deep of debris was excavated from inside the wall at this point. It was found to be a deliberate fill and included sherds and other small artifacts and several fragments of papyri of the Meroitic period and some probably of the Nubian Christian period. After several more days of very strenuous work the great buttress was demolished and the original south gate of the fortress was exposed; it is of even more imposing proportions than the north-east gate. Inside this south gate was an ascending ramp and steps, overlooked by the main west wall on its west side and a parallel heavy wall standing high over it on its east side. This guarded entrance led up into the fortress. It is probable that these defences would have been adequate before the advent of gunpowder and siege artillery but, on account of its being

dominated from the high ground inland from the fortress, a later military commander must have recognized it as a weak point in the defences, and sealed it off with the buttress. This part of the fortifications was obviously never subsequently breached. A wide, clearly defined road approached this south gate from the south-east and can be traced for a considerable distance into the desert.

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MILLET, Nick

AMERICAN RESEARCH OF EGYPT

## GEBEL ADDA

The Gebel Adda Expedition of the American Research Centre in Egypt, Inc. was supported by funds from the Smithsonian Institution Foreign Currency Program and the National Geographic Society of Washington, D.C. Altogether four seasons were spent on the site from the winter of 1962-63 to that of 1965-66.

Gebel Adda lies on the east bank of the Nile a few kilometers south of Abu Simbel, at the mouth of a wâdi (the Wâdi el-Ur) which gives access to the caravan routes of the Eastern Desert. Just south of the mouth of the wâdi lies an irregular sandstone plain, and at the river's edge is a large conglomerate knoll on which the town site, or Citadel, grew. The plain in back and to the south of the Citadel was utilised for burial grounds at all periods. The earliest settlement at Adda dates from the Late Meroitic Period, and the site was not finally abandoned until perhaps about 1800.

### THE MEROITIC PERIOD

In the course of the last season's work it became clear that the original Meroitic town of Adda had been enclosed by a fairly elaborate fortification of mud-brick provided, in some areas at least, with a rough sandstone facing for additional strength. A «River Tower», formed the riverside end of the northern wall of this enclosure, which ran down to the water from the north-eastern corner of the crown of the hill over an open area which was later built over and became a suburb, the «North Suburb» of earlier reports.

Excavation of most of the east and south faces of the original Meroitic enclosure revealed a massive mud-brick fortification wall whose original simplicity of construction had been considerably obscured by numerous additions and alterations for the sake of greater security. The first settlers at Adda seem to have intended nothing more than a reasonably defensible hill-fort, built along the lines dictated by the conformation of the great conglomerate outcropping which forms the Adda hill.

A strong mud-brick wall some two meters thick, provided with massive bastions at every ten or twelve meters, ran around the hilltop on the south and east sides and down the more gentle northern slope to the river on the west. The riverside itself, rendered inaccessible due to the ragged cliff which overhangs the Nile on the west, was apparently not thought to require any further defence than that which nature had provided for it. A wide gate in the middle of the eastern wall, approached by a flagged way leading from the plain below, gave access to the enclosure, and an inside staircase on each side of the gate enabled the defenders to mount the walls when necessary. Concerning the buildings inside the enclosure regrettably little was learned, since the central area of the fortress underlay massive accumulations of building remains and debris of later periods, and time did not permit the excavators to clear enough of the area to learn whether a well-planned barracks area ever existed. It did, however, become clear that a considerable area inside the walls during this earliest phase was not built over at all. Many storage pits dug in the surface of the gebel and belonging to this period were cleared by the excavators and found to have been little used; the evidence in general certainly suggests that the first occupation phase at Adda was a brief one. The present status of our understanding of Meroitic pottery in Nubia suggests a date in the early third century for the building of the first wall at Adda.

Very shortly thereafter a number of additions were made to the original fortifications in the form of secondary thickness of brick thrown up against the inner sides, to add to the massiveness of the walls. Stone facings, made of broken slabs of the local sandstone laid in mud mortar, were erected around the bastions, including the two important ones flanking the east gate, where the new facings were given a rough trim and overlaid with a smooth coat of mud-plaster. In the floor of the gateway itself, a gutter was cut to carry rainwater trapped inside the enclosure off down the hillside before it could soak into the foundations of the walls and weaken them. The stone facings of the gate bastions and the floor of the gateway itself bear witness to the boredom of Meroitic sentries, who idly scratched numerous series of short parallel grooves in the stone with the points of their weapons, markings of a

type often seen on rocks in the desert. Inside the fortress, during this second phase, houses and animal enclosures sprang up, indicating an increase in activity and perhaps of population.

The second phase of Meroitic Adda ended in violence and fire. Considerable portions of the walls show the traces of an extensive burning, and the area of the east gate itself most particularly, where the brick and plaster are deeply fire-reddened and much charred wood was found in the debris. It would seem that an enemy succeeded in taking the Adda fortress by storming the hill and burning the gates. The invaders seem to have occupied the burnt-out fortress for a brief period of time, as they made a rough timber threshold for the damaged gate and packed the burned brick-rubbish of their own making into a more or less usable path in front of the entrance. That this occupation can not have lasted more than a few months seems indicated by the lack of any traces of wear on the new sill and pathway. A few sherds of rather fine hand-made pottery found associated with this occupation presumably belong to these invaders, but it is possible only to speculate that the pottery and the clumsy reconstruction of the gateway indicate the temporary victory of one of the non-Meroitic tribes who later emerge as the rulers of Nubia in the X-group Period. There was in any case no evidence to indicate that the capture of Adda at this time was due to military activity on the part of the Roman power in Egypt, which might have been expected to leave traces of a markedly different nature.

At any rate, the invaders seem to have been ousted very shortly by the returning Meroites, who proceeded to rebuild the fire-weakened fortifications, add further layers of supporting brick on the inner sides of the walls, and raise the bastions of the gate to a greater height and provide a massive new sill and gate-posts, the new threshold being much higher than the old. The approach on the gate was accordingly raised by packing down a mass of broken brick from the debris left by the late enemy, and the upper part at least of the old flagged way down the hillside disappeared beneath a causeway or bridge of some kind whose existence must be assumed but which was removed at a later time. The new stone sill itself shows such scanty traces of wear that it seems likely that the rebuilding of the fortress was followed

almost immediately by the decision to change the entire nature of the Adda settlement by the building of the Acropolis. This conversion of Adda into an imposing monumental center with a relatively large temple seems associated in some way with the beginning of the series of large pyramids which were built in hitherto unused ground at the west edge of Cemetery Three. These tombs were intended for members of the families then ruling Meroitic Nubia and included at least two governors of Faras, and it would appear that the decision to enlarge and beautify Adda was connected with the moving thither of some part of the provincial administration.

*The Meroitic Acropolis and Temple*

In Christian times the northeast area of the Acropolis was reused as the site for a church (Church Five) whose remains are discussed below, but the scanty remains of the church covered the site of an older Meroitic temple building, and the crumbling red brick ruins of the church were removed to enable the excavators to examine the older constructions which underlay them.

The late Meroitic temple at Adda occupied the entire area of the northern part of the Meroitic Acropolis, which seems in fact to have been built especially to provide an imposing platform for this and possibly other monumental stone buildings of which no stones remain in position. Numerous architectural fragments found in the southern extremity of the Acropolis suggest that another stone structure may have stood opposite the main entrance of the temple. The Acropolis itself consisted of a large podium-like platform with well-laid ashlar walls in sandstone rising in places to a height of six or seven meters above the rock of the gebel which served as its foundation. This podium as a whole formed the eastern side of the fortifications which surrounded the older hilltop fortress of Adda and superseded on this side the older walls of mud-brick faced with rough stone built by the earliest Meroitic settlers at the site. Since the podium of the Acropolis was built over and around the older walls, the massive mud-brick ramparts of the original fortification could serve as fill for the podium, while a mixture of earth, brick, debris, sherds, and rubbish was dumped into the

remaining spaces between the retaining wall of sandstone and the faces of the older construction now submerged in the podium. A level platform was thus achieved where on the temple could be erected, but the floor of this platform varied a good deal in solidity, depending on whether massive mud-brick or dumped rubbish underlay any given point. Oddly enough the builders of the temple did not make the wisest use of the more solid areas of the platform, with the result that some of the most massive and weighty of the temple walls were laid with half their thickness on the older brick and the other half over the adjacent rubbish fill, with results which can easily be imagined.

The Adda temple was oriented roughly north-south, the visitor entering from the south through a wide gateway of traditional Egyptian type into a large court with a stone-paved floor. It is unclear whether or not the court was provided with columned porticos on any of its sides, since no traces of drums or bases of sufficient size were found on the Citadel, but the numerous column elements found in a Meroitic quarry south of Cemetery Two may well have been intended for the temple court and never put in place. A massive wall separated the court from the temple proper, in which a monumental central door gave access to the sanctuary, its ambulatory, and two sets of small side chambers. These last could only be traced in plan by the rough foundation courses later hidden under the pavement of the Christian church, as the walls had been completely leveled to accommodate the entirely different plan dictated by Christian ecclesiastical tradition. Many of the older blocks had been reused in the church staircase, including several door-lintels and a fragment of painted sandstone relief, which indicates that at least parts of the temple walls were decorated. A side door in the front wall of the temple proper led through a narrow open court back to the south and presumably gave on the open area in front of the temple precinct. Several painted fragments of stone window-gratings carved in the shape of seated cynocephalus baboons, Bes-figures and other subjects traditional in Meroitic art seem to have come from the temple, but their exact situation is unknown. A crude sandstone head from a roughly life-size statue of a king wearing the double crown, a large but unfortunately totally erased stela, and



fragments of other stonework indicate that the temple was not as bare as its sparse remains might lead one to think.

Since the Christian builders of Church Five had quite cleaned off any debris left upon the platform in and around the temple, no stratigraphical record was available from which the subsequent history of the temple might have been studied. By good fortune, however, the Christians had left undisturbed several deposits of material below the floor of the platform. In the court before the inner part of the temple several roughly circular pits had been excavated which contained wine-jars and cups as well as other pottery types of the standard X-group wares. More productive was another deep pit dug in the old mud-brick fortification wall beneath the ambulatory and sanctuary, filled with broken brick and debris. This contained numerous fragments of architectural elements and furniture from the temple, and this fill would seem to indicate that there was still an accumulation of destruction debris present on the old temple floor when a later generation decided to fill the X-group pits in the Acropolis and perhaps level the ground for a now-vanished structure.

#### *The Meroitic Residence*

The narrow flagged way that led up from the plain to the east gate of the older Meroitic fortress continued through the gate in a westward direction into the center of the enclosure. Although time was inadequate for the clearance of more than a small area of the interior of the Meroitic town, it may be guessed that the road led finally to the large Meroitic building whose remains lay beneath Church Seven and which was only partially excavated. Very little can be said with certainty of this structure, but from the massiveness of its brick and stone walls it seems to have been fairly pretentious, and fragments of painted plaster bearing well-executed figures of cattle indicate that it was important enough to have been decorated with wall-paintings. Its history is unclear since it was impossible to make a stratigraphical connection between it and the gate area or temple, but it seems most likely that it was built early, perhaps during the first phase of the fortress, and rebuilt in more pretentious style during the Acropolis period. The writer is inclined

to assume that it was the residence of the chief personage of Adda at each period, since the remaining Meroitic constructions within the walls, insofar as they were traced, seem to have been much less imposing and the thickness of their walls would hardly have admitted the raising of a second story as seems likely in the case of the Meroitic Residence. The debris within the Residence consisted of a mass of brick dust so thick with sherds that it can only have been due to deliberate dumping, most of which seems to have occurred at the time that the Late Christian rulers of Adda decreed the clearing of the older building and the levelling of the site for the construction of a planned town. The scanty deposit still undisturbed on the floors of the Residence suggested that the small rooms actually cleared were used for living purposes rather than for storage, but little more can be said in view of the limited area of the building actually excavatable.

#### THE X-GROUP PERIOD

It must be admitted that one theory widely favoured by Nubian archaeologists was fated not to be justified by this year's results at Adda. The proximity of the great X-group royal cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana had led many scholars to expect that the residence of the X-group kinglets might be sought at Gebel Adda, particularly in view of the considerable cemetery of smaller tumuli of the same period which fills much of the plain to the east of the gebel (Cemetery One). It must be admitted, however, that the Expedition's work on the upper citadel revealed no traces of any pretentious building which might have been built or even reused in X-group times. Although it was obvious that Adda supported a considerable population during this period, as witness the growth of the North Suburb, any large structures on the upper citadel would have left no traces in view of the thorough clearing carried out in Late Christian times preparatory to the rebuilding of the town. Thus it is impossible to say whether an X-group period palace ever existed at Gebel Adda.

In the old Acropolis area the new occupants of the town utilized, as we have seen, the temple area for storage and living quarters. In

the mass of the old brick fortification which underlay the temple floor the newcomers dug several deep pits somewhat less than two meters deep and roofed them with light poles and straw. In these subterranean and lightless holes, which can only have been entered by ladders from above, were found numbers of drinking cups and fragmentary wine-jars, with a noticeable lack of other domestic wares, and sometimes traces of cooking fires. In such tiny areas only four or five persons can have sat at one time, and the only explanation which has occurred to the writer is that they served as clubhouses for men, whether religious or purely social can only be guessed. A group of old Meroitic houses which had been built up against the outside of the second phase mud-brick wall and subsequently buried in the podium were laboriously cleared out and reused, the original rooms being subdivided into smaller chambers by partitions and a staircase built down to them from the top of the platform.

#### THE MIDDLE CHRISTIAN REMAINS

Within the Meroitic fortifications, still in use in X-group and Christian times, little survived of the Middle Christian Period due to the clearing operation already referred to as having been carried out in Late Christian times. A house of this period was partially excavated just to the west of the Acropolis which yielded a cache of fine Fayumi glazed pottery and a paper letter from the eparch, or viceroy, of Nobatia, Marianos, to his deputy, who is requested to take action in the matter of a servant. The text is in Old Nubian, with the titles as usual in Greek, and the deputy is referred to as *anteparchos* or «acting eparch». On the south edge of the Citadel, outside the Meroitic wall and thus beyond the limit of the area so assiduously scoured of older construction by the Late Christians, a series of houses was built about the same time which survived the renewal. In one of them was found a pair of sealed jars, one containing a cache of jewellery including a pair of fine silver earrings and an iron pendant cross, while the other held only a document of goat's leather described on the outside in Greek as the last will and testament of a man named Ioasse. This has recently been treated and opened by the Laboratory of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and proves to be in a mixture

of Greek and Coptic. It is dated to the year 1027 A.D., in the reign of a hitherto unknown Nubian king Stephanos.

Nearby two other jars containing numerous leather documents were found in the remains of houses of the same period. One group was hopelessly carbonised and shattered, but the other, numbering seven pieces of leather, have been treated in the Laboratory and have yielded some readable texts. The contents are in Greek, Coptic, and Old Nubian, and represent land conveyances. The work on the Acropolis also produced two more Arabic tombstones of the type found in the suburb, and like the others, reused in Late Christian construction. Both are dated in the early years of the eleventh century, and we thus have clear proof that at this time the population of Adda consisted of both Christian and Muslim communities living side by side. The Christian population at this time was certainly using the old burial ground in the plain near the church south of the Citadel, while the Muslims were perhaps burying their dead in the long disused pagan Cemetery Three, to the east of the town. A few tiny fragments of painted plaster with Kufic inscriptions picked out in colour found near the south wall of the Citadel suggests that the Muslims may have had a small mosque somewhere on the site which was pulled down in the Late Christian rebuilding which destroyed so much other important material.

#### *Church Five*

The remains of Church Five were also identified and studied. This edifice had been erected on the ruins, and partly on the foundations, of the Meroitic temple which occupied the northern portion of the Acropolis, the massive platform at the northeast corner of the Citadel. The area of the church had been largely cleared by the Alexandria University Expedition, and the familiar tripartite plan of the Nubian church was identifiable even before the present excavation began. The thick sandstone outer walls of the old Meroitic temple, and much of its original flooring of sandstone slabs, were utilized by the Christian builders as they were, and an apse was added at one end. Fallen blocks and lintel fragments of the older structure had been collected and used to construct a sturdy and well-built interior staircase at the western

end of the church, presumably to lead to the roof. In accordance with earlier Christian building traditions than those represented in the smaller Church Four, stone columns with elaborate composite capitals separated the aisles from the nave. The church, although not a large one, was clearly well built and rather impressive when entire. At some unknown date an earthquake brought down the whole northeast corner of the Acropolis and much of Church Five, which may have led to the building of the smaller and later Church Four in the center of the Citadel.

#### THE LATE CHRISTIAN REMAINS

The small mud-brick church Number Four, standing in the center of the upper Citadel at the edge of the central plaza, was excavated and planned. The church seems to have been built on the foundations of an older house of the usual Christian Nubian type with storage chambers only on the ground floor and living quarters above. The reuse of an old house enabled the church builders to employ the lower floor of small narrow rooms as a series of crypts for the burial of town notables. The entire church floor above had to be removed by the excavators in order that workmen might move about safely underneath, and it was eventually necessary to remove much of the upper walls of the church to obviate the danger of a fall. It was discovered that several of the burials had been disturbed, but the circumstances seemed to indicate that this was due to accidental rediscovery of older burials by Christians seeking an unoccupied section of crypt rather than to deliberate molestation. The present state of the evidence suggests a date for the whole group of six interments in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Each of the bodies had been wrapped in coarse linen or cotton shrouds and then enveloped in a padded quilt of gay material, either imported silk or cotton print, which was without doubt used by the deceased as his sleeping-cover while alive.

#### *Church Seven*

The large number of churches recorded at Gebel Adda will be surprising to anyone who has not a first-hand familiarity with the site. In actual fact it is plain that by no means all were in use contemporaneously.

Of the three churches planned by Monneret de Villard, one has survived to the present (that in Cemetery Two), but it would seem that this one at least was abandoned before the churches on the Citadel were built. Church Six, a Late Christian «field-church» in Cemetery Seven, may have been in use concurrently with Four and Seven on the Citadel, at a time when the rulers of Christian Nubia were surviving on the strength of their diplomacy and when the Muslim tribes of the eastern desert were kept more or less firmly in hand by the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and a church might safely be maintained outside the walls of a town.

In the course of the work on the «Palace» area described below, Mr. R. Huber was requested to extend the excavation of his area to the east to include what was believed by the writer to be a Turkish block-house or powder magazine. This conclusion was weakened by the discovery of a series of frescoes representing mounted saints in Byzantine dress, and the episode may well serve as an object lesson in hasty archaeological judgement. What had been taken to be musket slits in the walls proved to be aisle windows.

The new church, for such it proved to be, is apparently later than any of the other known churches of Nubia, belonging to the time of the kingdom of Dotawo, the Christian state which took over control in Egyptian Nubia after the accession to the Dongolese throne of a line of Muslim rulers in the early fourteenth century. The building date of the church is uncertain, but most likely to be placed in the fourteenth century. That it remained in use for sometime is indicated by evidence from a child's burial beneath the older of the two church floors in the north aisle, where the body has been wrapped in a small leatherfaced quilt edged with yellow silk and sporting several embroidered shields with Mamluk heraldic designs of a type most likely to be fifteenth century. The other burials, of which there were several of about the same date, were not distinguished by any notable finds, and the shroud inscriptions were too badly damaged to provide any biographical data. There was a slight preponderance of elderly males, but at least one other child.

The church frescoes were well preserved at most points to a height corresponding to the lower chest of the major figures. Apart from the

traditional figures of mounted saints, angels, and the like, there were figures of two bishops. The number of mounted saints leads one to wonder if the church was not dedicated to one or more of the warrior saints so popular among the Christian Nubians, such as George, Epimachos, or Mercurius.

This church is of more than ordinary interest due to its very late date. Whatever the date of its building, it was in use as a church far later than any other Nubian church is known to have been and lasted apparently into the fifteenth century. Its final fate was to be used as a private house by a family of Christians. These late squatters simply moved into the empty church with their smaller livestock, and their rubbish ultimately formed a new floor over the red-brick tiles of the last phase of the church. New sills had to be set in the north and south doors, and under these were placed Christian amulets in the form of inscribed sherds, which attest to the squatters' loyalty to the old faith.

#### *The «Palace» Complex*

Church Seven was part of a larger complex of buildings of a more usual civil character but with refinements which led the excavator to regard them as the residence of the rulers of Adda in Late Christian times. Together with the church they formed a large U of buildings with the open end north, facing the central square, and the long axis lying along the street which led down to the walls on the south. The bottom of the U was open where it crossed this street, and a sort of carriage arch may have existed at this point. The church provided the east side of the U along with a large building of a mansionlike nature just to the south of it. The west side was the palace proper, if it can be so called, and consisted of several joined buildings built over a period of time with a large monumental entrance on the east facing the entrance of the church and just opposite it. This entrance was provided with a flight of steps of stone and red brick carefully faced with hard plaster and painted red, and beside it was a place where horses may have been hitched. The buildings of the palace complex were all, with the exception of the church, built in the usual Late Christian manner with a ground floor of blind storage rooms, accessible from above, and a second and

possibly third storey of larger rooms for general living purposes, and a stair of some kind was necessary to enter most of them. Almost all traces of the upper stories and their furnishings had vanished, leaving only the rubbish-cluttered lower level. Thus stratigraphical study had to be confined to the outside areas in most cases, and the rubbish layers within the rooms was normally of little help in dating. However, it seems that the first parts of the palace complex were built in the thirteenth century, and that it was enlarged in the fourteenth and lasted into the following century as the most pretentious residence at Adda.

#### *The Later Walls of Adda*

A considerable amount of time was spent on the excavation and study of portions of the fortifications of Gebel Adda, on the north, east and south sides. The Late Meroitic, Late Christian, and Ottoman lines of defense were cleared on the south face, and the Middle Christian houses in the area excavated as far as possible. On the North it was discovered that neither the Christians nor Turks had done much more than repair or patch up the older Meroitic walls running across what was later the North Suburb, and that in post-Meroitic times most of the north of Adda formed a more or less indefensible faubourg. In view of the political conditions prevailing during most of this period, this came as something of a surprise. The Late Christians had built into the old Meroitic wall a new stone-faced gate of some size with steps leading up the hill from the gate into the upper Citadel. The stone facing of this gate seems to have been the last attempt at ashlar stone construction made at Adda.

#### THE CEMETERIES OF ADDA

The extensive cemeteries, numbered One through Eight, were excavated to the extent that time allowed. All periods represented in the history of the Citadel were equally attested in the vast burial ground that extends across the plain to the east and south of the town. The most interesting evidence came from the series of mud-brick pyramids

of Late Meroitic date in Cemetery Three; here notables of the family of Wayekiye and two governors of Faras had been buried, as their offering-tables and tomb-stones witnessed. In the large Christian cemetery Two lay the remains of Monneret's Church One, which the expedition re-excavated and planned, as well as extensively sampling the graves of the cemetery itself. A considerable quantity of physical-anthropological data has been recovered from the Adda cemeteries, and is now being studied.

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ROSENVASSER, A.

UNIVERSIDAD DE BUENOS AIRES

#### AKSHA

As it is known our Mission worked in Nubia jointly with the *Mission Archéologique Française* directed by Professor J. Vercoutter. It is not always easy to determine what was carried out by each of the Missions taken separately. But it can be inferred approximately from the reports published in *Kush* X, XI, and XII, (the first two by Professor Vercoutter, the last by the undersigned), the three referred to the excavation of the temple of Ramesses II at Aksha and the surrounding area (See *Kush* X, p. 114 and *Kush* XI p. 137). Additional information may be obtained from the Interim reports we presented to the Commissioner for Archaeology.

I wish to state that the organization of the expedition and the general plan of the excavations were started by Professor Vercoutter; changes having been introduced and additions made as we carried out the work. Here I shall give a summary of the main results of our excavations starting with the third campaign, when the undersigned was the only director of the expedition. Other results which may be attributed to our Mission, corresponding to the former campaigns, shall be mentioned afterwards.

The excavations made during the third campaign showed that the temple and its subsidiary buildings—excavated during the first and second campaigns—occupied the Northern part of a compound which included, towards the South, the town with its two quarters: the official quarter and that of the commoners (See fig. 1 of our *Report* in *Kush* XII, p. 96). The girdle wall that encircled the compound appeared to be a rectangle of 120 × 82 m., the long side being parallel to the river. There were at least three gates communicating the officials' town with the commoners' town. The commoners had an independent gate in the East which led out towards the river.

In the SW area, leaning on the South wall of the temple, we dug the foundations of five chapels of Sethos I, with the doors looking to the N., and in front of them five rooms of Ramesses II, their doors looking

to the S. Oval lintels and jambs we found in situ belonging to the doors of the chapels of Sethos had the protocol of this king and showed that four of the chapels were dedicated to Horus of Buhen, Atum, Thoth and Ptah. The rooms of Ramesses II were consecrated to him by the Viceroy Hekanakht as evidenced by a cornice and a lintel we found which showed in relief the Viceroy Hekanakht making reverence to the protocol of Ramesses II. The fact that the inscription of the famous stela Quban is reproduced in the temple of Aksha (See *Kush* X, p. 112 f) gives support to Reisner's idea that Hekanakht is the Viceroy of the stela. On the West side the chapels leaned against the girdle wall itself which we uncovered from beneath the sandhill. This wall was here 6 m. thick and consisted of two parallel walls (1 m. and 2 m. thick) filled with mud bricks set on edge. Apparently the space between the walls was to serve as casemates, the West side being considered as the more exposed to raiders.

In the same campaign we made other discoveries in the SE area of the officials' town. There we found, leaning against the South wall, two rooms of the house belonging to the «Chief of the Harim of Isis, Mahy, the blessed», as shown by the inscriptions on the jambs of one of the doors. Besides, we dug in the temple. In the vestibule, under the flagging, we discovered two big square bases which were to support the columns of this room; the vestibule was intended as a hypostyle.

In the second campaign, during the second phase, the undersigned being in charge of the excavations led the diggings from the main girdle wall in front of the main gate of the temple to the river and found a quay built of large sandstone blocks. This was a rectangular structure (6.20 m × 7.60 m) sloping towards the river. A low parapet served as protection on its Northern and Southern sides, the Eastern side having been left free apparently for mooring ships. In the same side we found a pair of big stones with the protocol of Ramesses II. Between the girdle wall and the landing place we discovered a great terrace of chipped stones and gravel, bordered with rows of stones.

The Argentine Mission excavated two Meroitic cemeteries (SAS Survey 24-M-12 and 24-I-3) both situated in the Southern area of our concession extending as far as Serra West Village. Both belong to the

very end of the Meroitic Period and some of the graves belong to the X-Group as shown by the types of some of the vessels (globular vase and globets and splath decoration). The tombs were mostly rectangular with a lateral chamber, a partition wall of unbaked bricks or stones protecting the recess. In one of the tombs of the first of the cemeteries mentioned above we discovered a Meroitic cursive text of 17 lines. These cemeteries were excavated by Dr. A.R. Gonzalez and Dr. P. Krapovickas respectively.

Our Mission made a Prehistoric survey of the concession. This was the work of Dr. A.R. Gonzalez who found five important palaeolithic sites on the bank of a wâdi. They yielded Achedesian and Mousterian biface hand-axes as well as a few Micoquian implements. Another site surveyed included mesolithic and early neolithic implements.

From the beginning of the expedition the undersigned was in charge of the epigraphical work. Most of the new inscriptions copied were protocolar or ceremonial. I added new copies of the lists of peoples engraved in the forecourt known from former publications (See *Kush* X, p. 109, n. 6 and p. 112) and copied also the historical inscriptions discovered, thought at first to be new but which I identified as duplicates (viz. the Decree of Ptah that I found identical to the Abu-Simbel stela of the same decree; see *Kush* X, p. 113 and n. 15). Designs made by M.A. Jacquemin of the French Mission were done under my supervision and corrected. The undersigned has published «*Notes relating to inscriptions found at Aksha*» (*Kush* X, p. 116 f) referring to the Decree of Ptah and to the lintel showing Ramesses II killing a Southerner (*Kush* X, Plate XXXIV). On the inscription of this lintel I published an article in the *Journal Humanidades*, t. 38, Universidad de La Plata, 1961, under the title «*La muerte ritual del enemigo por el faraón*». The undersigned has also published the Meroitic stela referred to above with a transcription and a decipherment of its text according to which the deceased on behalf of whom the stela was made is the honourable Atqê, son of Amerêye (his father) and Bêqêke (his mother) : *Kush* XII, p. 140, Addenda.

Besides the Notes and Report published in *Kush* X, XI and XII I presented to the XXVII International Congress of Orientalists, held at Ann Arbor, Michigan (August 19, 1967) a paper on the stela Aksha

505 we found during the second phase of the Second Campaign. The stela belongs to Wepwawet, standard bearer and flabellum bearer, who is shown in attitude of adoring the protocol and images of Ramesses II. An abstract of my paper «*The Stela Aksha 505 and the Cult of Ramesses II as a God*» will appear in the Proceedings of the Congress. The complete paper will be published in the Boletín del Centro de Estudios de Historia Antigua Oriental de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (Universidad de Buenos Aires). The publication of the inscriptions of the temple of Aksha is in preparation.

I have no map to offer of the sites excavated. A plan of our excavations in the area of the temple is included in *the plan facing page 96 of Kush XII (Fig. 2)*».

#### ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. The paper on the stela Aksha 505 was published in full in *Revista del Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental (RIHAO)*, vol. 1, 1972, Buenos Aires, pp. 99-114 with one plate and 8 figures under the title «*The Stela Aksha 505 and the Cult of Ramesses II as a God in the Army*». Cit. *Orientalia*, vol. 44, fasc. 2, p. 228, 1975 (Leclant).
2. The Stela Aksha 505 has been classified in the *Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique (REM)* with the number 1057. See *Meroitic Newsletter, Bulletin d'informations méroïtiques*, N° 4, p. 2, 1970 (J. Leclant and A. Heylez).
3. The decree of Ptah of Aksha has been published under the letter S (= Serra West) in parallel with the other (4) existent text of the Decree, in *Ramesside Inscriptions*, II, Fascicle 5, 1971, Edited by K.A. Kitchen. It appears that the transcription was made from photographs : «*VERCOUTTER, Kush X (1962), pl. 35 a, b; completed from photographs kindly made available by Professor Vercoutter*».
4. The decree of Ptah and the inscription containing the text of the Stela of Quban (See J. VERCOUTTER, «*Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition, 1961*», *Kush X*, 1962, p. 112-113) will be published, proximally, in *the Revista del Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental (RIHAO)*, vol. 4.

WENDORF, Fred

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY,  
DALLAS, TEXAS

## PREHISTORIC SITES IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

The year 1961 saw the beginning of one of the largest and most successful programs of international scientific cooperation ever undertaken. For a period of more than five years between 1961 and 1966, scholars representing many disciplines came from throughout the world to work together in a race against time to preserve the archaeological treasures to be inundated in the reservoir to be impounded behind the New High Dam at Aswan. Most of these efforts were directed toward the spectacular remains of the Pharaonic and later periods of Nubian and Egyptian civilization.

In spite of a then widely held belief that few significant prehistoric sites would be found within the reservoir area in Nubia, it was wisely decided by the Egyptian and Sudanese authorities coordinating the international archaeological salvage efforts to include whatever prehistoric materials were present in the overall campaign. Several of the expeditions organized primarily for work at historic sites did some investigation of the prehistoric remains in their concession areas, among which were the Indian and Soviet Union parties in Egypt and the Scandinavian Joint Expedition and the University of Colorado group in Sudan; however, there were two expeditions organized for the primary purpose of studying the prehistoric materials in Nubia. One of these was jointly sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University and the National Museum of Canada; the other was the Combined Prehistoric Expedition under the leadership of Southern Methodist University and with joint personnel and financial participation by the Museum of New Mexico, Columbia University, the Fort Burgwin Research Center, the Egyptian Geological and Mineral Research Department, the Belgian Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique, the University of Gent, the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the University of Bordeaux,

and the Polish Institute of History of Material Culture. In addition to the institutions mentioned above, major financial support for the expedition was received through several grants from the United States National Science Foundation, the United States Department of State, and the Smithsonian Institution. A total of thirty-eight scholars from six different countries participated in the work of the Combined Prehistoric Expedition from 1961 to 1966.

#### THE AREA STUDIED

The Combined Prehistoric Expedition received a concession area in Egypt which included the entire west bank of the reservoir from the New High Dam to the Sudan frontier, except for a small area between 'Aniba and Korosku. Permits also were awarded for work beyond the reservoir limits in the Western Desert near Dungul and Kurkur Oases. The entire east bank and the small area on the west bank north of 'Aniba, together with the Kom Ombo plain, were the responsibility of the Yale-Canadian group. In Sudan, the Combined Prehistoric Expedition received a permit for the west bank of the reservoir, beginning at the southern end of the Egyptian concession at the Sudan-Egyptian frontier, and extending southward to the head of the reservoir near the Third Cataract. On the east bank it included the area from approximately the Second Cataract to the Third Cataract. Through the courtesy of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, however, arrangements were made for the Combined Expedition to work in the Scandinavian concession area along the east bank from the Sudan-Egyptian frontier to the Second Cataract, and furthermore to study most of the prehistoric materials which had previously been collected by their group. Thus, the Combined Expedition had the opportunity to work on the prehistoric materials in much of the reservoir area in both Egypt and Sudan, a distance of more than 300 miles, at least half of this distance along both banks of the river. This provided an opportunity to view the prehistoric developments in a geographic perspective enjoyed by few, if any, of the other groups working in the reservoir salvage campaign.

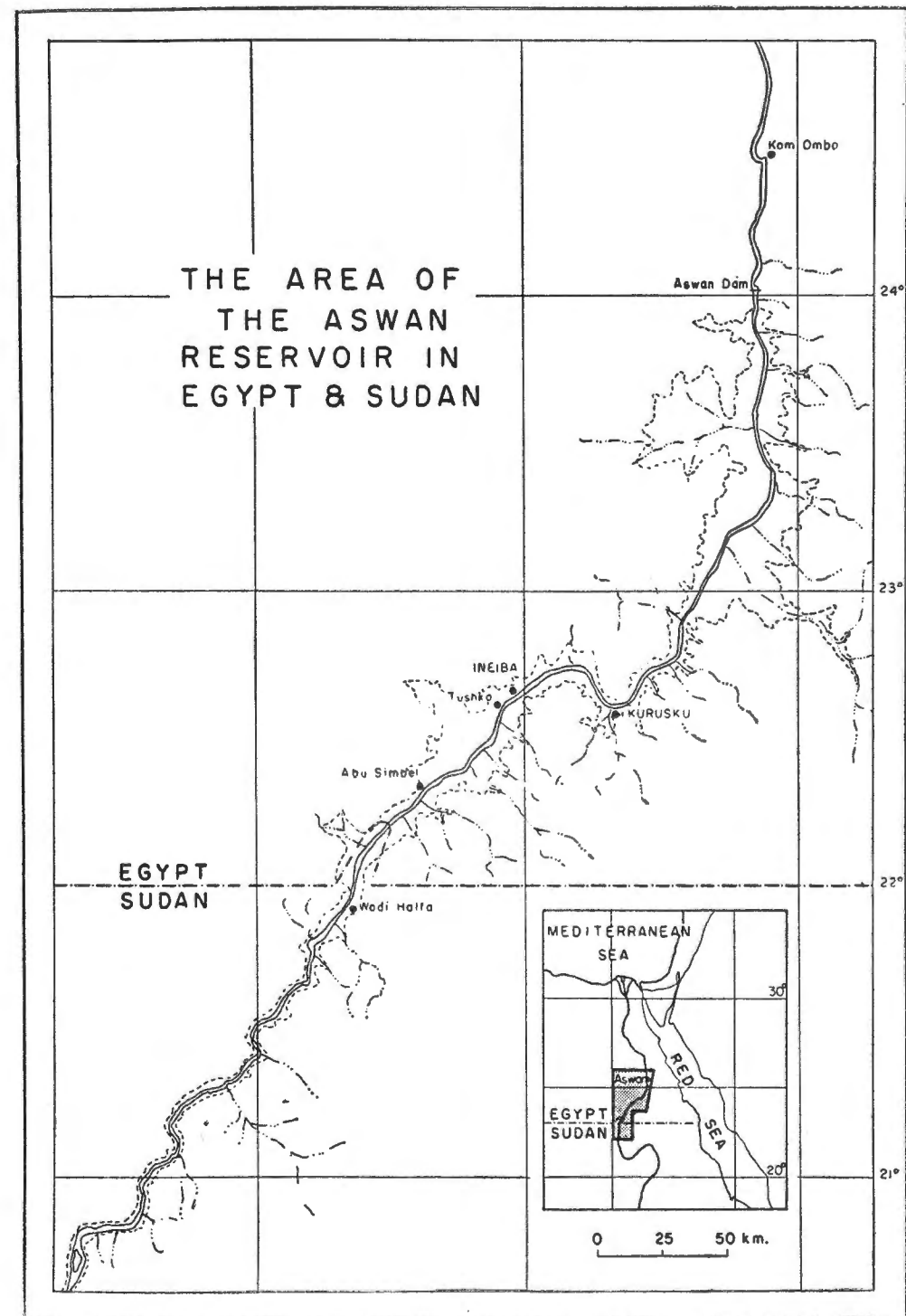


Fig. 1. — Map of the Aswan Reservoir Area in Egypt and Sudan.



THE MAJOR RESULTS

It is entirely appropriate to note that when the international salvage efforts began, there was virtually no information available on the prehistoric development anywhere in Nubia, and even in Egypt little was known concerning prehistoric materials beyond a few scattered and rolled pieces found in ancient deposits along the Nile. From this limited evidence, archaeologists had concluded that the Nile Valley, both Nubia and Egypt, had been a culturally conservative cul-de-sac where the technological and typological attributes of the Middle Paleolithic survived relatively unchanged until near the end of the Pleistocene. The lithic industries of Late Paleolithic age along the Nile Valley were believed to be limited to a few simple tool types, usually made on flakes, and with a high frequency of the Levallois technology which elsewhere is characteristic of the Middle Paleolithic. Those diagnostic elements of the Late Paleolithic — the blade technology and the associated complex of tools emphasizing end-scrapers, burins, and backed pieces — were believed to be absent. These simple flake industries were seen as persisting long after compound tools, indicated by the presence of geometric microliths, had appeared in Europe and southwest Asia.

At a still later date, the role of the Nile Valley in the origin and development of food production was also discounted as it became fashionable to regard the upland areas around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers as the probable center for the origins of agriculture.

Perhaps the major result of the Nubian prehistoric campaign was to lay to rest these concepts of Nilotic cultural conservatism. The Nubian work not only disclosed the presence of numerous rich prehistoric living sites ranging in age from Early Paleolithic to the beginning of written records, but these sites yielded convincing evidence that they had been occupied by groups whose lithic technology and typology were fully as complex and as progressive as those from other parts of the world.

Even more surprising, many of the Late Paleolithic sites in Nubia contained evidence suggesting that these groups used ground grain as a source of food as early as 13,000 B.C. — some 4,000 years earlier than suggested by the present evidence for the use of this food source

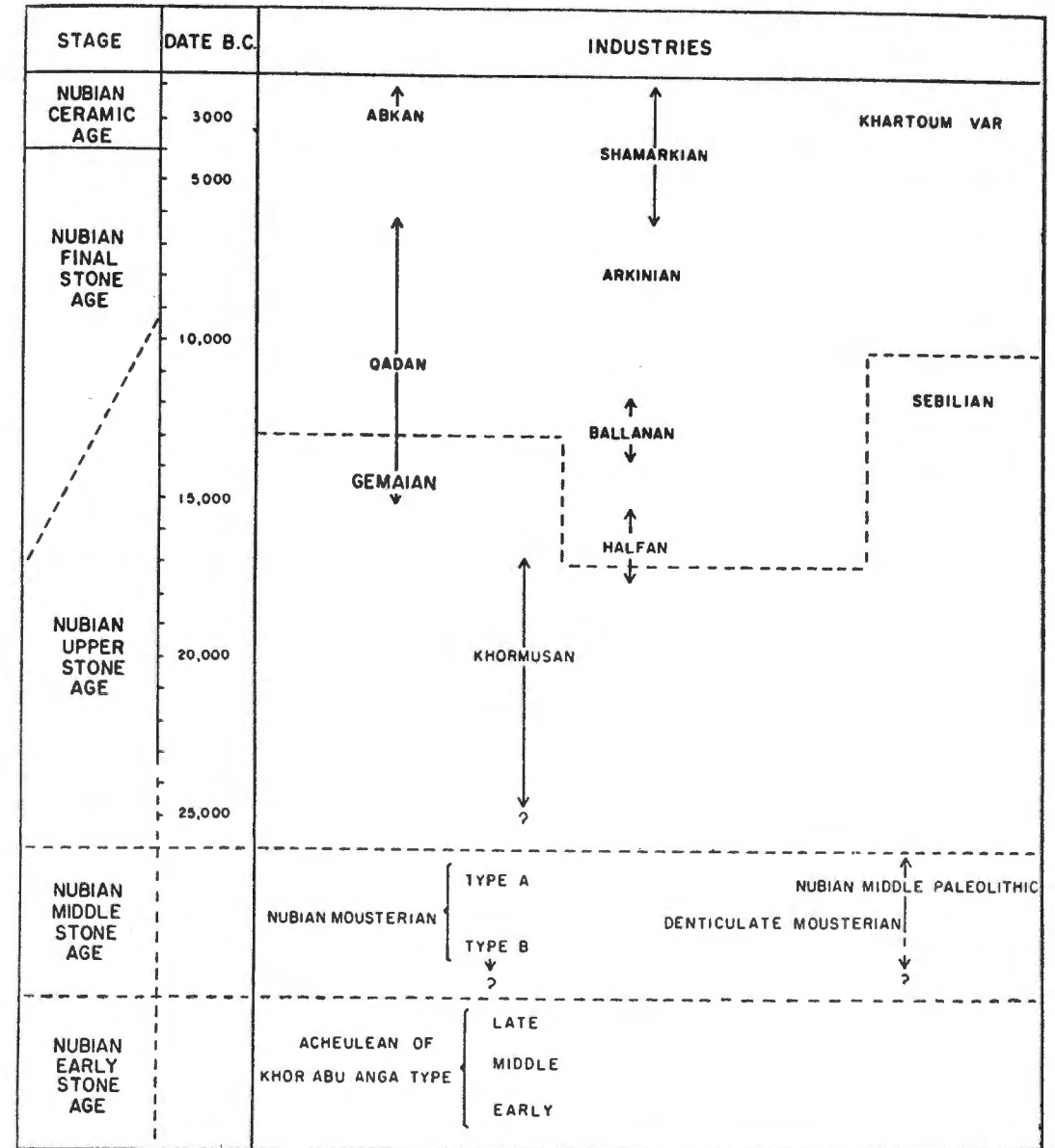


Fig. 2. — Chronological Arrangement of the Major Nubian Prehistoric Industries.

in the Levant or elsewhere in the Near East. There is no evidence that these early efforts to use grain for food resulted in a corresponding primary development of food production, but they were an important first step which may ultimately have led to the crucial achievement of food production, either along the Nile or elsewhere in the Near East.

The Combined Prehistoric Expedition surveyed and located several hundred prehistoric sites within the assigned concession areas, and of these, 102 sites were excavated and studied systematically. These range from Early Paleolithic to Neolithic. The final reports on these studies have been published in several volumes (Wendorf, 1965 and 1968; Marks, 1970).

The prehistoric sites in Nubia have been grouped into five broad cultural stages, and within each stage several distinct lithic industries were defined. The stages may be summarized as follows :

*Nubian Early Stone Age* : The sites of this stage are typologically and technologically within the range of the Acheulean complex and share many resemblances with the Middle and Late Acheulean from further south, especially Klor Abu Anga near Khartoum, Sudan. No living sites of this group are known, only quarries and workshops. Ferrocrete sandstone was preferred for tool production, although quartz was also important in some sites. Bifaces were the most common tools, while cleavers, trihedral forms, and para-Levallois flakes are rare. Levallois technology appears during the middle phase of this stage and becomes increasingly important thereafter. Nubian Early Stone Age sites occur only in the Older Pediments. None are known to occur within the silts of the river.

*Nubian Middle Stone Age* : This stage is generally equivalent to the Middle Paleolithic elsewhere. It contains three distinct industries : the Nubian Mousterian, Denticulate Mousterian and the Nubian Middle Paleolithic. The latter has affinities with the Sangoan-Lupemban of central and west Africa ; the first two are more similar to the Mousterian complexes of the Near East and Europe. All three of these industries share the following features : a nearly complete absence of handaxes (these are replaced by biface foliates or flake tools) ; a strong preference

for ferrocrete sandstone for tools ; and a frequent use of Levallois technology (although this varies among the three industries of this stage). Sites of this stage occur only in the Older Pediments some distance back from the Nile.

*Nubian Upper Stone Age* : Three distinct industries are also included in this stage : the Khormusan, the Gemian, and the Sebilian. Each of these industries is markedly different from the others, but as a group they share an emphasis on medium-sized flakes for the manufacture of tools ; the biface foliates of the preceding stage are gone, and there are no true geometric, microlithic, or backed microblade tools characteristic of later stage. Except for the Sebilian, which differs sharply from all other known lithic assemblages in Nubia, sites of this stage yield increasing frequencies of artifacts made on Nile pebbles, while burins, endscrapers, and retouched points occur commonly in one or the other industries. The Sebilian retains the emphasis on ferrocrete sandstone preferred during the earlier stages, and the tools of this industry emphasized various kinds of truncations. These differences have led to the suggestion that the Sebilians were an outside, non-Nilotic group who briefly intruded into the area. In some respects they have close affiliations to some of the industries known farther south in central Africa — especially the Tshitolian.

All of the sites of this stage, unlike those earlier stages, occur in the immediate vicinity of the Nile. The river had become an important economic resource.

*Nubian Final Stone Age* : This stage contains four distinct industries : the Halfan, the Qadan, the Arkinian, and the Shamarkian. All of these industries share a tendency for the retouched tools to be microlithic, suggesting extensive use of composite tools. They also all make frequent use of microblades and bladelets in the manufacture of finished tools, and Nile chert pebbles were used almost exclusively as raw material for these tools. The Nile and its resources, especially fish, become increasingly important, and it is during this stage that the first use of ground grain occurs. There is an overlap in time between the Nubian

Final Stone Age and the preceding Nubian Upper Stone Age. The earliest Nubian Final Stone Age sites (the Halfan) occur *in situ* in Nile silts and have radiocarbon dates of around 17,000 B.C., while the Nubian Upper Stone Age probably begins before 20,000 B.C., but survives as a technological stage represented by the Sebilian, as late as 9,000 B.C.

*Nubian Ceramic Age* : This stage includes at least three distinct lithic industries in Nubia. Pottery, the diagnostic feature of this stage, first appears in the final phase of the Shamarkian industry, and is also present in two distinct and seemingly contemporary groups named the Abkan and Khartûm Variant. Both the Shamarkian and Abkan ceramics appear to be stimulated by Egyptian sources; however, the Khartûm Variant pottery clearly is similar to that of Shaheinab in central Sudan. All three industries share an emphasis on large flake tools, and the Abkan and Shamarkian sites are dramatically larger than those known previously in Nubia. This change of settlement size may indicate the appearance in Nubia of a new economic resource — possibly cultivation.

#### PUBLICATION OF RESULTS

Below are listed all of the known contributions describing the results of the studies by the staff of the Combined Prehistoric Expedition which have been published to date and the known reviews of these publications :

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- 1967 «Pleistocene Sediments and Events in Sudanese Nubia», in *Background to Evolution in Africa*, W.W. Bishop and J.D. Clark, editors, pp. 313-328. University of Chicago Press.
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## CONSERVATION OF PAINTINGS, REMOVAL OF SOME

The Department of Antiquities has actually played an important rôle in the saving and study of the Nubian monuments prior to, and during, the erection of the High Dam. The works carried out by the Department comprised the following.

- 1) Excavating several sites.
- 2) Removal of paintings.
- 3) Cleaning and consolidating the mural paintings and reliefs.
- 4) Dismantling and re-erection of temples.
- 5) Conservation and restoration of the paintings and reliefs during the dismantling and re-erection of the Nubian temples.
- 6) Scientific study of the material found in the temples or in the various excavations.

These items will be dealt with very briefly in the following :

### I. — EXCAVATIONS.

These will be dealt with briefly by our friend Shafik Farid who carried out by himself, or supervised most of them. I had, however, supervised the work carried out by the Department of Antiquities for the removal of the remains of the Coptic church in the Hypostyle hall of the Wadi el-Sebu' Temple.

For erecting this church, the Nubian Copts smashed most of parts of the Osiride Statues of Ramesses II in this hall and coated them with mud bricks and plaster. They also built an apse between the two central outermost Osiride pillars, constructed some additional walls and built an altar in front of the apse. The hypostyle hall was thus modified in such a manner as to fit the plan of a Coptic Church. They also coated the Ancient Egyptian painted reliefs on some parts of the walls and pillars with plaster of mud and kaolin on which were painted figures

of saints and other Christian scenes. They coated the apse, as well, with a thick plaster of mud and a thin coat of kaolin on which was painted a scene representing Jesus Christ in the middle of his twelve apostles. Moreover, some other changes and constructions were made in some parts of the inner chambers of the temple.

The expedition of the Department consisted of nine members mostly of chemists and restorers and about 20 workmen. It started its work on November 15, 1963, and finished its work in the temple on Dec. 27, 1963.

The most important results of this work can be summarised as follows :

- 1) Most of the parts smashed from the Osiride statues were discovered among the stones used for constructing the lowermost course of the apse. These constituted most of the trunks of the statues, and they were transported with the other stones of the temple to the new place where they will be restored back to their original places in the statues during the re-erection of the temple.
- 2) Several objects were found. The most important of these are (a) a large slender cylindrical pottery vessel 35 cms high and 20 cms in diameter decorated with paintings representing plaited and nonplaited palm leaves, (b) the upper part of a royal statue of limestone, 33 cms high, and (c) the head of a small statue.
- 3) Kaolin was discovered for the first time used in Egypt as a painting ground for the Christian paintings. Since, as far as we know until now, the Ancient Egyptians never used kaolin as a painting ground. It can now be safely stated that any coating with kaolin plaster found in Egyptian buildings, whether used as a painting ground or merely as a plaster, must date back only to the Coptic period.
- 4) Twenty-two Christian paintings and inscriptions with a total area of 24 m<sup>2</sup> were removed and sent to Cairo where they were stuck on new rigid supports and are now kept in the Coptic Museum. Of these we may mention the paintings representing the Angel St. Michael, Saint George, Saint Peter, a very large cross, and Saint John the Baptist.

A paper has been prepared describing in some detail the work done and the results obtained. It is hoped it will be soon published in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*.

## II. — REMOVAL OF MURAL PAINTINGS.

Other than the Wâdi el-Sebu' paintings mentioned above, the above expedition of the Department of Antiquities was also charged with the saving of all the important mural paintings. This work was carried out with the most valuable cooperation of the Yugoslavian experts : Michail Vunjak, Milorad Medich, Miha Pirnat, Bogdan Kivachevich, who were delegated through the Unesco for this work. The Yugoslavian experts started the work by carrying out several experiments to find out the most suitable method to be used for stripping off the painting and sticking it on a rigid painting support.

Without going into much detail, the method used for removing all the paintings, except those of the temple of Abahûda, can be summarised as follows : The painted surface was consolidated by spraying it with a solution containing polyvinyl acetate (2 %) and silicon resin (0.5 %). After drying slowly, linen gauze was stuck over the surface with 5 % lucelin (methyl carboxy cellulose) in water. The whole piece of painting was then detached from the wall with its painting ground. In the laboratory, most of this original ground was removed and only a thin layer about 3-4 mms thick was left. A new painting ground of kaolin, sand, clay and ochre mixed with 10 % polyvinyl acetate emulsion was applied to the back surface in consecutive layers reinforced by cotton gauze sheets. After drying, the painting was stuck on a wooden board, the cotton gauze on the front surface removed with water and the painting well washed with water to remove all traces of lucelin.

The results were actually so good that it was not easy to notice any difference between the picture of the cleaned painting before removal and its picture after removal.

After the removal of the christian paintings which were found in the Wâdi el-Sebu' Temple by the above method the expedition including the Yugoslavian experts, moved to Abû-Simbel to start to remove the



Christian paintings which coated the Ancient Egyptian reliefs of the Temple of Abahûda which date back to the reign of Haremhab of the XIXth Dynasty. Here most of the figures had been painted over an extremely thin layer of plaster and it was practically impossible to apply the above described method, and, therefore, they were removed by another method, in which only the paint layer was stripped off by covering it, after fixing the colours, with a layer of cotton gauze stuck over the surface with a solution of animal glue of suitable concentration. After drying the gauze was stripped off, rolled up and sent to the Chemical Laboratory in Cairo.

In Cairo they were stuck on a new painting ground, the gauze on the front surface was removed with hot water, and the painting cleaned with water to remove all traces of the glue. Fifteen pieces of paintings were removed from the temple of Abahûda, having a total area of 22.5 m<sup>2</sup>. These included the two large paintings of Jesus Christ and Saint Martyr which decorated the ceiling of the main hall of the temple, as well as the painted geometrical patterns which decorated the sides of the architraves of the same hall. The famous Nubian coptic inscription which was on the southern wall of the inner chapel was not stripped off, but the whole part of the wall was sawed and transported to Wâdi el-Sebu'. It will be exhibited with the other objects or parts of monuments of Nubian in the Nubian Museum which will be most probably erected in Aswan.

By the beginning of January, 1964, after the combined expedition had just started its work in the Abahûda Temple, the Dutch expedition which was excavating in the Abdalla Nirqi district, discovered a very important church, the walls of which were decorated with many Christian figures and scenes. The expedition starting directly to detach these paintings. Twenty three paintings were removed having a total area of 30.2 m<sup>2</sup>. Most of these paintings were in a very good state of preservation and were very successfully removed using the first method and sent to the Chemical Laboratory in Cairo where they were stuck on rigid supports. These included very beautiful multicoloured scenes and figures of which we may mention a complete large nativity scene, a large scene showing Christ on a jewelled cross, a figure

of a knight seated on a horse accompanied by Saint Epimachos on a horse, a figure of John the Baptist, and a part of a figure of Saint Anna.

Later, in March, 1964, the Department's expedition alone removed the sand which filled the church of Nag' el-Oqbo and detached three pieces of paintings which were found still in a comparatively good state of preservation. These included a scene showing a pig swallowing people who are raising from graves and a crocodile facing the pig on the other side.

In September 1964, Mr. A.M. Shaheen of the Chemical Laboratory staff removed the paintings of the Amenhotep III chapel at Wadi el-Sebu' which was then threatened to be submerged by the rising water in the Nasser's Lake. The scenes here are painted on a very thin enduit of gypsum plaster and not on Kaolin plaster, as in the case of the christian paintings. The total area removed from the chapel amounted to about 14 m<sup>2</sup>.

All the christian paintings, after being stuck on rigid supports were transferred to the Coptic Museum, Cairo. The scenes of the chapel of Amenhotep III are now kept in the Cairo Museum.

### III. — CLEANING THE MURAL PAINTINGS AND RELIEFS OF TEMPLES.

The mural paintings of the temples of Gerf Husein, Derr, Abahûda and the two temples of Abû-Simbel were washed with diluted alcohol. This washing was mainly meant to clean the reliefs and paintings and remove the excretions of bats and other surface dirt so as to reveal in a better way their details. These paintings and reliefs were then treated with very weak solutions of synthetic resins as Polyvinyl acetate, paraloid of Bedacryl for fixing the colours. After these processes the mural paintings and reliefs could be well documented as well as they were well prepared for cutting and transferring them to higher levels.

### IV. — DISMANTLING AND RE-ERECTION OF TEMPLES.

The Department has dismantled or cut the temples of Debod, Tafa, Dendûr, el-Maharraqa, Beit el-Wali, Qertassi, Dakka, Ellesiya, Derr, 'Amada and the tomb of Pennē. The Temples of Qertassi, Beit el-Wali,

'Amada, Dakka and Moharraga and the tomb of Pennē were rebuilt at higher levels in Nubia, while those of el-Lissiyah, Dandour, Debod and Tofa have been granted to Italy, the United States of America and Holland respectively. We have started the preliminary preparations for rebuilding the Temple of Derr beside the Temple of 'Amada in Nubia. Many pieces of the Gerf Husein and Abahūda Temples and the Qasr Ibrīm chapels were also cut and will be exhibited in a special museum at Aswan.

The U.A.R. has also participated both technically and financially in all the processes of cutting and re-erecting the two Temples of Abū-Simbel.

#### V. — CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION OF PAINTINGS AND RELIEFS.

Before cutting the Temples of Abū-Simbel, el-Sebu', Beit el-Wali and Derr, and the tomb of Pennē, it was necessary to consolidate the painted layer, fix the paints, extract the salts impregnated in the walls, and restore the paintings so that nothing might be lost of them during cutting, transport and re-erection. These works were carried out during the years 1962-1970 by the chemists and restorers of the Department of Antiquities.

The loose plaster layers were injected with polyvinyl acetate emulsion of suitable concentration, and after a few minutes the bulging or loose plaster was pressed back to stick well to the stone in their original places.

The painted surfaces inside the temples only, and not outside them, were fixed by treating them with about 3 % solution of Bedacry (I.C.I.), Polyvinyl acetate, or Paroloid. The non-painted plaster was only treated with polyvinyl acetate emulsion deluted with much water (1 part of the emulsion : 9 parts of water, by volume).

The loose pieces were stuck with a cement of P.V.A. and in some other places with Bedocryl epoxy resin (Cibo, Switzerland) or Marcon resen (Polyester, Scott Bader Co. London). Most of the restorations were carried out by using a mixture of these resins and powdered sandstone of suitable colour to fit the colour of the surrounding stone to some extent.

Prior to cutting the two temples of Abū-Simbel and the temple of Beit el-Wali, the plain or painted stone surfaces, where the cuts would be made, were treated with a solution of polyvinyl acetate and silicon resin, then narrow bands of cotton gauze were stuck along these lines with lucelin solution. These bands of cotton gauze served to protect the edges of the cut blocks from being disintegrated or broken off during cutting them with the different kinds of saws used, during transport, and storage, and lastly during re-erection. After rebuilding these temples, the bands were taken off with water until all traces of lucelin were removed.

The cutting lines in the rock-cut temples and tombs, the two Abū-Simbel temples, the temple of Beit el-Wali, and the tomb of Pennē were filled. The cutting lines inside them were filled with a mixture of powdered sandstone, a plastic emulsion in water and a suitable inorganic pigment in such a ratio as to have almost the same texture and colour as those of the surrounding paintings or stone surface. In the outside parts of these temples, where the stone is exposed to the sun, wind, and rain (though very rare), the cutting lines were filled with a mixture of lime mortar, powdered sandstone or sand and a suitable inorganic pigment. In the Zones B and C in the artificial mountain which surrounds the two temples, the cutting lines were filled with a mixture of lime mortar, white cement, sand and a suitable pigment. In all these cases, the different constituents were mixed in such a ratio that the mixture, after drying, have almost the same texture and colour as the surrounding paintings or stone surfaces. This work has been done so perfectly that it is now very difficult to find out the places of the joints between the cut stones.

#### VI. — SCIENTIFIC STUDIES.

During the works carried out by the Department's expeditions in Abū-Simbel and el-Sebu' temples some new facts were discovered. Of these we may mention the following :

- 1) Some plaster was found covering the lower parts of the walls of the entrance, the Osiride hall and the Osiride statues of Ramesses

II in the Great temple of Abû-Simbel. This plaster proved to be of kaolin. Since Kaolin plaster was only used in the coptic period, it is concluded that the coptic Nubians might have started to coat the reliefs of this temple with kaolin in an attempt to convert it into a church, but they gave up this idea afterwards.

2) Most of the parts of the arms of the statues of Amun, Ramesses II and Harakhti in the sanctuary of the Great temple of Abû-Simbel are missing. It is supposed that these parts had been cut out by the Nubian copts in a trial to convert the sanctuary into a christian chapel. It was found, however, that there were slight remains of gypsum mortar on the cut surface denoting that the missing arms had been originally stuck with an adhesive of gypsum mortar. It is suggested, therefore, that either.

(a) The stone in these parts might have been of a bad quality, and was, therefore, replaced by a gypsum mortar shaped into form, or replaced by a better kind of sandstone which was shaped into form and stuck in place with gypsum adhesive. Later, the gypsum arms or the sandstone arms fell down or were taken off by force.

or,

(b) The missing arms might have been made intentionally of a different, more durable, material such as granite or another hard stone, or of a precious metal, such as gold or silver.

This is a question open for study and discussion.

3) During dismantling the mud-brick walls of the court of the Great Temple of Abû-Simbel, remains of a gypsum plaster was found coating the lower parts of the walls. This indicates that the walls of the court had been coated with white gypsum plaster all through, a fact which should be taken into consideration in rebuilding the walls of the court.

4) On the floor of the sanctuary of the temple of el-Sebu', as well as on the floors of the four side chambers, were found remains of a white plaster coating them regularly in a layer of about 1.2 cms thick. This plaster proved to be of gypsum, and not of kaolin. This indicates that the floors of the temple chambers had been

coated with gypsum plaster, and it seems likely that this flooring with gypsum was generally made in all temples of Ancient Egypt, although, as far as I know, it was not previously recorded.

In conclusion I want to add that through the work in Nubia much experience was gained in all fields, especially in restoration and reconstruction. Moreover, in these two fields new methods were developed and new materials were used for the first time. It also threw much light on many of the Ancient Egyptian techniques, and brought to light many valuable museum objects.



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